Korea and Spain—*J. A. del Vayo*

THE Nation

October 14, 1950

Dollars and Doctors

Where Voluntary Health Insurance Fails

BY LEONARD ENGEL

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Gasperi vs. Catholic Action

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THEY'RE BURNING THE MIDNIGHT OIL IN the State Department. Not to fashion a broad world policy for the United States in a time of trouble or anything quite so constructive as that but, as a New York *Times* correspondent put it, "to devise a political spectrum of the governments of the world for the purpose of deciding what governments are totalitarian and what are not." The incentive to this activity is the provision of the idiotic McCarran law which prohibits the admission of anyone who advocates, or has advocated, any form of totalitarianism or one-party government. In vetoing the bill President Truman cited the obvious case of Spain as a country that would logically come under the ban, a point that the pro-Franco Senator from Nevada fatuously overlooked. But there could be many others. The Administration might not think twice about the countries in the Soviet orbit—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. But how about Yugoslavia, which presumably we want to strengthen in its rebellion against Russian domination? How about Portugal, which has something so close to totalitarianism that the Portuguese can't tell you the difference? And what of Argentina, where it is now a crime to "provoke public alarm or depress people's spirits"? What of Colombia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic—all first-class dictatorships. And Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Yemen—not to mention Communist China? Many of these countries have organizations enjoying consultative status with the United Nations, and to deny their delegates admission to the country would be a flagrant violation of U. N. agreements. The very act of classifying these states as totalitarian could have such serious diplomatic effects that, as one authority plainly says, "we may have to broaden our concept of democracy and narrow our concept of totalitarianism." This is the pathetic pass to which the world's greatest power has been reduced by Senators and Representatives gone silly with the fear of losing their seats.

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THE NATIONAL PRODUCTION AUTHORITY has issued a directive giving the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission first call on industrial production. Henceforth orders from these two bodies marked "DO" (for Defense Order) must be given absolute priority by the manufacturers with whom they are placed. This edict may serve to insure against delays in delivery of actual military material, but it obviously does nothing to end the anarchic competition for scarce materials among producers of civilian goods. On the contrary, as a steel executive quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* remarked, "The order will certainly heighten the already wild scramble for steel for non-military business." And what is true of steel is equally true of most non-ferrous metals, some chemicals, and a number of other materials. In the end only a thoroughgoing priority system will bring order out of chaos and prevent the growth of multiple bottlenecks; and it seems to us that the sooner the National Production Authority grasps this nettle, the better. Clearly it cannot rely on the market to decide which users of, say, steel, other than suppliers of direct military orders, are to have their demands satisfied. It will have to determine what kinds of manufactured goods are essential both for support of the military program and for the maintenance of necessary civilian supplies and services—freight cars, for example—and insure that such goods are given priority. That will undoubtedly mean that supplies for producers of non-essential articles will be insufficient to meet demands. Consequently some kind of rationing system will have to be devised so that what is available may be fairly distributed. Failing action on these lines, we can only anticipate more inflationary price increases and the steady widening of black and gray markets.

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AS USUAL THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF the British Labor Party was heralded in the Tory press with rumors of schisms and revolts, and as usual the national executive remained in firm control of the situation. That is not to say that the sessions were wholly harmonious: in fact, although the several varieties of left-wingers who voiced criticisms of the government were invariably voted down, they appeared to reflect a certain restiveness among the rank and file that should warn the party leadership of the dangers of undue complacency. At present the opposition is both diffused and lacking in leadership. Aneurin Bevan, who is supposed to be the moving spirit of the "ginger" group inside the government, has a growing following but

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clearly has no present intention of burning his boats in a effort to capture the leadership. Moreover, while he may favor a more socialistic domestic policy, he is a bitter critic of the Soviet Union and thus at odds with the relatively small group of pacifists and fellow-travelers whose chief grievance against the government is based on dislike of its foreign policy. Actually the debates on foreign affairs indicated that the outright opponents of British participation in the Korean war—the kind of left-wingers who talked in terms of "Wall Street imperialism"—were vocal rather than influential. But there did appear among the delegates an undercurrent of disturbance over the extent to which British policy has become tied to the tail of an erratic American kite. For that reason Ernest Bevin's speech, which included a strong defense of the United States against charges of aggression, might have been less well received had he not also emphasized one outstanding difference between British and American policy by arguing the case for admitting Communist China to the United Nations.

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SOME SIX HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE, A quarter of the world's population, are concentrated in Southeast Asia. Within twenty years, it is estimated, they will add 150,000,000 to their numbers. The majority of them enjoy no more than the bare means of subsistence, if that, and in any part of the area a bad harvest means famine. These basic facts of economic life are the starting point for any realistic discussion of the problems of Asia in the view of ministers of the British Commonwealth nations who have just concluded a conference in London. As a result of their talks, which were also attended by observers from Indonesia, Burma, Thailand, and Indo-China, a six-year plan for mutual aid and joint development in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, and British Borneo, to which other Commonwealth countries will contribute technical and financial assistance, has been formulated for submission to the governments concerned. Details have not yet been published, but it is known that the program concentrates on the expansion of agricultural output and the improvement of basic services such as transport and power. One of the proposed means of implementation is a Council for Technical Cooperation, with headquarters in Ceylon, which will be concerned with the recruiting and training of skilled personnel—a task in which it will seek to cooperate with the United Nations and our Point Four organization. This suggested approach to the problem of development fortunately avoids overemphasis on industrialization. For while it is perfectly true that industrialization is essential if Asia is to raise living standards above their present abysmal level, it is also true that an agricultural revolution must precede an industrial one. Only when output per acre and per man is substantially

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increased, only when food surpluses in one area can be economically moved to another, is it possible for underdeveloped countries to release from the soil the manpower required for large-scale industrialization.

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WE CONGRATULATE *HARPER'S* MAGAZINE on having survived the chances and changes of a hundred years. At eight-five we are in a mood to appreciate the achievement and to be cheered by evidence that it can be done. We won't pretend to have read the whole three-hundred-page special issue, just to hand, with which *Harper's* is celebrating its centennial; but the array of pictures, old and new, is beguiling, and it is pleasant to note that a magazine which printed Dickens, Mark Twain, Henry James, Thomas Hardy, and Stephen Crane in the past has stuck to its guns, and numbers among the contributors to the present issue such distinguished contemporary writers as William Faulkner, Rebecca West, W. H. Auden, Katherine Anne Porter, and Thomas Mann.

✳

OF THE TWO COLUMNISTS responsible for Beside the Point, one is currently exploring the ways of the common cold germ and the other is engaged in reporting the broader humor of the fall political campaign. Both expect to recover in time to restore the column to its usual spot in next week's issue.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Stassen to Stalin

THE State Department would be within its rights to read the riot act to Harold Stassen, if not the Logan act, which specifically prohibits private citizens from attempting to influence foreign governments in disputes or controversies with the United States. Mr. Stassen thinks he is legally in the clear because, as he puts it, his bid to Premier Stalin for private talks is not designed to affect Russian policy on specific disputes but rather to promote "world peace and freedom." The letter itself, however, which he has addressed to Stalin urges a change of policy on a number of matters and it is absurd to imagine that the conference, if held, could discuss "peace and freedom" without going into such subjects as Korea, Germany, Formosa, and atomic controls, all very much in dispute between the two governments.

Nevertheless, the Administration, we believe, is well advised to retain the mildly indifferent attitude it has assumed toward the episode. Both the President and Secretary Acheson have repeatedly expressed the conviction that two-power talks would undermine our position in the United Nations and that if the Russians wanted to demonstrate a will to peace, they could do so convincingly by deed rather than word. At the same time there is a propaganda value in having the American case in the cold war dramatized in this informal way. Whatever the Russian leaders may tell Stassen and his colleagues will necessarily be an expression of official policy, but the American government will remain wholly uncommitted.

Without being over cynical, we are inclined to read in the Stassen move a strong element of domestic politics. The timing of the letter, the elaborate advance build-up, and the implied criticism of the Administration—all seem to indicate that Mr. Stassen has no desire to keep himself buried on the campus of the University of Pennsylvania. But whatever the scheme may suggest of personal ambition, it can hardly be of any great help to the Republican Party as such. The G. O. P. does not contend that the Roosevelt and Truman administrations have been culpable for failure to woo the Russians sufficiently but rather that they allowed themselves repeatedly to be taken in by fair words exchanged across the green-baize table tops. It will not be quite so easy for the Republicans to charge the State Department with "softness" toward the Soviet Union when one of their top leaders has in effect berated it for stiff-necked intransigence in dealing with that government; when, going farther, he has dared in these days of nervous caution to say that we Americans "still remember the great sacrifices and heroic fighting of the Russian armies in our joint victories over Hitler's Nazi forces."

All in all, it is a queer performance, with that touch of calculated spontaneity that has marked Mr. Stassen's career in the past. If nothing else comes of it, there should at least be a damping down of the hysteria with which most of his party's leaders have damned those "appeasers" in the State Department.

Deadly Parallel

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE old League of Nations slogan "When in doubt appoint a commission" has become the standard refrain in a United Nations where doubt, based on division, is endemic. A commission has now been appointed for Korea. Next we shall have a commission for Formosa. Moving on a bit in time and space, we shall doubtless find the French calling for a commission for Indo-China if Ho Chi-minh's present offensive gains momentum.

Commissions may be useful if both sides in a dispute want to find their way to a compromise. In such circumstances a third party can sometimes bring the disputants together and keep them together until a bargain, advantageous to both but inaccessible without outside help,

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can be concluded. In Asia the prospect of an outcome like this is not good. For there local disputes are hopelessly entangled in the unresolved, all-embracing dispute between Russia and the West. They are amenable to conciliation only in so far as the big powers which stand glowering in the immediate background permit compromise. At this moment, to judge from the decisions of the past week in Korea and at Flushing Meadow, the ingredients of workable compromises are missing. There is just one development that favors them—the increasing expression of independent opinion in the United Nations.

The commission set up by the eight-power resolution, to supervise the political and economic reunion of a Korea which U. N. forces will presumably have physically reunited by force of arms, faces a grim job at best. Not only must it grapple with a shattered economy and huge human and material losses; it will also meet hostility and suspicion from a large proportion of the population. How strong this feeling will be depends in part on the kind of fighting and the time required for defeating the Korean forces in the North. But under the most favorable circumstances, Communists, soldiers or civilians, and their sympathizers, and even the masses of ordinary folk who have felt the weight of American bombs and seen their factories and roads and bridges blown to dust, will blame the outsiders and suspect their motives when they come bearing gifts of free elections and reconstruction.

Favorable circumstances are not to be expected. As this paper goes to press, the United Nations forces are beginning their drive into the North. They waited at the border until the eight-power resolution was adopted; this was taken as the starting gun. But a good week earlier South Korean troops were across the Thirty-eighth Parallel and on their way up the eastern coast. On whose orders they moved is still an unanswered question: the impression the United Nations high command appears to want to give is that they barged ahead on their own. This, of course, is ludicrous. The South Koreans are a part of the U. N. forces, fighting under U. N. orders. For General MacArthur to let them stage a unilateral invasion would seem to have only one purpose: to increase the authority and prestige of Syngman Rhee and convince the North Koreans of what their leaders have been telling them—that the Americans plan to instal the distasteful Rhee regime as the government of all Korea. In the U. N. Mr. Austin said that

ANOTHER FORTHCOMING CONTEST

London *Daily Herald*

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this was not so. His words would carry more weight if the South Korean army had been induced to tarry at the border at least until Mr. Austin's resolution went through.

There is no reason on earth to believe that Syngman Rhee has renounced his aggressive intentions toward the North. He threatened many times to unite the country by conquest—a foolish ambition as events proved. The aggression was launched by the North instead; but now that the invaders have been shoved back into their own territory, nothing could be less conducive to a quick ending of the struggle than the counter-invasion by the South. Terrible atrocities have been committed by both sides in this war, although, after the first few weeks, only those committed by the North have been generally reported. If Syngman Rhee's troops carry out reprisals, if they attempt to liquidate the opposition on their way north, the hope of a decent settlement by the U. N. commission may as well be abandoned. It is up to General MacArthur to keep the South Korean troops under discipline. But will he? If he had not wished to give them a free hand, why should he have allowed them to march north ahead of the other U. N. forces?

For all these reasons I consider it most unfortunate that the Indian attempt to find a compromise between the Soviet and the eight-power resolutions was rejected. Perhaps no common ground could have been discovered, but the try should have been made. As it is, India was driven to abstain in the vote on the eight-power plan and refuse a place on the commission—a high price to pay for intransigence and haste, and one which will prove a further handicap when the commission confronts its task in Korea.

There are persons close to the State Department who insist that what the Administration wants in Korea is a genuine democratic regime in a reunited country; that it has no intention of continuing to back the regime of Syngman Rhee, which it created and which MacArthur has reinstalled in Seoul, but will favor new elections for the whole country; that it would continue the land reforms and other desirable social changes established in the North by the Communists. If this is true, and despite appearances to the contrary I think it probably is, then one can only say that the happenings of the past few days have been disastrously inept. For they gave a contrary impression, one which could well encourage the Communists in North Korea to keep on fighting as long as possible, besides casting doubt on American aims in other parts of Asia. The diplomats at Flushing Meadow would have done better if they had heeded Pandit Nehru's urgent warnings. The lines that follow, taken from a speech by the Indian Prime Minister to the Parliament at New Delhi, should be pondered by delegates and Foreign Office officials alike before the next U. N. commission is launched upon Asia.

> However different we may be from the Chinese or the Japanese or the Indonesian or the Arab, we have a greater understanding of each other than I imagine Europeans or Americans have of us in Asia. Old methods and habits die hard, and the fate of Asia or of the countries of Asia is determined by leading statesmen of the Western world without much reference toward the countries of Asia who are most concerned. I do not complain about it. But I wish to point out the danger of trying to solve these problems without taking Asia into consideration. They simply come up against a blank wall.

And Save Us from the Young Republicans!

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, October 6

EVERY couple of years some group of pleasant fellows, goaded beyond endurance by the seemingly malignant ignorance of men like Senator Wherry and yearning for leadership a cut above the partisan cunning of Joe Martin, proposes a "liberal" program and "forward-looking" candidates for the Republican Party. Russell Davenport is one of the more persistent of these idealists and is regularly denounced by the Chicago *Tribune* as an enemy within the gates, a traitor who doesn't hate Roosevelt, a low fellow-traveler of Americans for Democratic Action. A few candidates are produced under "liberal" auspices, some brave fights are made, and then everything subsides until the next election looms.

Fascinated by the 1950 outbreak of the liberal pox within the Grand Old Party, this correspondent decided to review the record of the "young" Republicans who have been nominated and elected in recent years. What kind of men are these new G. O. P. statesmen? It seems fair to begin with 1946—the first year since 1928 that the Republicans won both houses of Congress.

The twenty Republican Senators who have come to Washington in the past four years make up almost half the party's strength in the upper house. Many of them are reasonably young in years. They might have been expected to bring verve and fresh ideas to a party that for a generation has suffered from hardening of the arteries. Instead, most of them must be classified as hopelessly reactionary—insensitive to the problems of an industrialized society, often taking an extreme rightist position on domestic issues, stridently parochial on foreign policy.

Some exceptions should be noted. Margaret Chase Smith of Maine and Ralph E. Flanders of Vermont are not exactly heirs of the Populist tradition, but they have intelligence, good-will, and independence. Edward

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J. Thye of Minnesota is a sound internationalist and an honorable conservative. Robert C. Hendrickson of New Jersey is a mild improvement on former Senator Hawkes, whose record was so regrettable that he was repudiated by Governor Driscoll and the New Jersey Republican organization.

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts aspires to succeed Vandenberg as Republican spokesman on foreign policy and has voted in a manner to sustain his claim. On domestic affairs he has a better record than most Republicans, although as a member of the Tydings subcommittee he failed to repudiate Joe McCarthy. Irving M. Ives of New York is an intelligent and very able conservative who served as midwife for the Taft-Hartley act. Harry Darby of Kansas is merely holding a Senate seat for Governor Carlson, who hopes to be elected next month.

The other "young" Republicans are the choicest collection of lobbyists' creatures and Stone Age pitch-men the Senate has seen since the Roosevelt revolution turned out the Old Guard of the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era. From their ranks exclusively came the character assassins who dominated the recent session of Congress. Lacking the intelligence and humor of conservatives like Senator Millikin of Colorado, incapable of the hard work that equips Senator Taft for leadership, they have a point of view no more modern than William McKinley's.

We have with us, of course, McCarthy of Wisconsin. We have with us Harry Cain of Washington, the real-estate lobby's boy. We have the hard-bitten William E. Jenner of Indiana, one of the few Republicans able to view McCarthy without disgust.

John Bricker, who came to Washington as Taft's junior partner in 1947, is completely without influence and sits in almost paralyzed silence except when he answers on roll calls and votes either with Taft or to the right of Taft. Henry C. Dworshak of Idaho was so bad in a two-year term that the voters threw him out, but he returned on appointment and has continued to follow a strictly isolationist and reactionary line. Edward Martin of Pennsylvania has never done a thing to disturb the Pennsylvania Railroad or the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association.

George W. Malone of Nevada, the slot-machine champion, makes Pat McCarran look almost liberal. Zales N. Ecton of Montana seems like a bad joke on the state that is also represented by the gentle, devoted Senator Murray. Arthur V. Watkins of Utah is the Senator who sponsors Republican "sleepers" designed to gut the public-power program.

John J. Williams of Delaware, obscure as he is, is indubitably reactionary. James P. Kem of Missouri had enough political shrewdness to fight the Kerr natural-gas bill, but his sudden emergence as a champion of consumers amazed and amused the press galleries. Karl Mundt of South Dakota is the elocution teacher who entered the Senate via the House Un-American Activities Committee. Andrew F. Schoeppel of Kansas was witless enough to perform a stooge's function for his administrative assistant by reading a speech attacking the patriotism of Secretary of the Interior Chapman.

In the field of foreign policy it is statistically demonstrable that the new Republicans are vastly less sensitive to the urgencies of America's position than their veteran colleagues. On seventeen crucial foreign-policy votes in the Eightieth and the Eighty-first Congress—votes on amendments that if passed would have crippled vital programs—the pre-1946 Republicans had a consolidated score of 228 against the amendments and 114 for them. Despite the work of Lodge, Ives, Thye, Flanders, and Mrs. Smith, the young Republicans had a consolidated score of 151 for the amendments and 139 against.

In domestic affairs the young Republicans have shown a tendency to follow G. O. P. policy in favoring civil-rights bills. But they have also generally been the Republicans who have tried to kill housing, hospital, and education bills by attaching civil-rights riders which had no chance of passage and thus effectively obstructed the other measures. Those who come from industrial states naturally show some respect for the needs of organized labor. Mrs. Smith has a New England conscience, and though her state is not heavily industrialized, she votes according to her convictions. But there is little sign that the group will produce anyone like Morse of Oregon, Aiken of Vermont, or Tobey of New Hampshire, "mavericks" with a strong sense of public duty.

Senator Wherry has recently been beginning his speeches with a resounding "God bless America; yes, God bless America." Yes, indeed. And save us from the young Republicans!

[*Answer on page 332*]

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Korea and Spain

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Flushing Meadow, October 7

FOR THOSE who would read into present developments at the General Assembly unconditional and enthusiastic support of American policy in Asia, the result of the voting on Korea in the Political and Security Committee could not have been more gratifying. By a vote of forty-seven to five, with seven abstentions, the eight-power resolution was adopted, establishing machinery for carrying out the unification of Korea at the end of the "Second Korean War" unless in the meantime the greater problem of producing a truce between the United States and Russia is settled. The Political Committee acted with much greater speed and efficiency than it has shown when dealing with other controversial matters, and the fear of some delegates that any delay might give the retreating North Koreans an advantage carried more weight than Sir Benegal Rau's plea for "one clear day's time for reflection." Today the vote in the plenary session sustained the committee's action.

It seems too bad in this atmosphere of twofold victory—military victory on the Korean battlefield and diplomatic victory in the Political Committee—to have to inject a note of sober analysis. But in this case less than ever do numbers of votes by themselves tell the real story. Significant inferences are to be drawn both from the manner in which certain delegations voted on each paragraph of each of the resolutions submitted to the Political Committee—the eight-power resolution, the Soviet resolution, and the Indian resolution—and from the speeches and observations made during the final part of the debate. Comparing one vote with another on every paragraph—and it should be noted that several paragraphs of the Soviet resolution itself were *adopted* in the point-by-point voting—one reaches the conclusion that with a little more effort on the part of a few delegations, it would have been possible to get a better resolution than the one finally adopted. This impression would seem fully to justify India's effort at conciliation and its proposal to submit the different draft resolutions to a subcommittee. The Indian resolution itself failed. The vote was thirty-two to twenty-four, with three absentions. The group favoring it embraced every part of the world and included political regimes diametrically opposed one to another. Such a varied and powerful minority cannot be dismissed. The vote suggests that we may yet witness surprises when the other two major items, Formosa and the Acheson plan transferring to the Assembly decisive powers now held by the Security Council, come up for discussion.

Slowly but surely a division is appearing between those who regard the United Nations chiefly as an instrument of conciliation and negotiation and those who think of it, especially since Korea, in terms of military sanctions. India is emerging as the leader of the first group, while the second group, in the view of most observers, is headed by the United States. This was shown by several speeches, particularly the remarkable one by Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett of Israel, in which he supported the Indian position. It was on Israel's suggestion that the proposal to invite all Korean groups to cooperate with the United Nations' commission was written into the resolution by a vote of twenty-nine to two, with twenty-two abstentions.

Perhaps the subcommittee suggested by India, had it been set up, would have been unable to reconcile the fundamentally opposed attitudes of those who believe in a negotiated peace and those who base their hopes for the future of Korea on the hard lesson still to be taught the North Koreans. But at least a resolution drawn up by such a subcommittee would have been better than the one which was actually adopted, and a more detached and thorough consideration of the question would have produced a more promising commission on Korea than the one which has now been appointed. One has only to consider its composition—Australia, Chile, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey—to appreciate that it is not exactly the "strong and independent" group about which the sponsors of the eight-power resolution had been talking. India's refusal to become the seventh member was foreordained: to have accepted would have been to abandon the position the New Delhi government has taken from the start, a position which in terms of moral strength has made India the "Big Sixth" in the current Assembly.

WESTERN diplomats with whom I talked last summer in Europe generally agreed that the Spanish question should if possible be kept off the agenda in this autumn's Assembly. Even conservatives felt that Korea, with the issues growing out of it, would be enough to occupy the Western delegations; that they would do well not to look for more trouble by defying popular world opinion in the case of Spain.

However, the Assembly found itself confronted today with a draft resolution sponsored jointly by Bolivia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, and the Philippines, calling for the restoration of ambassadors in Madrid and the admission of Franco Spain to the special agencies of the United Nations—a very big foot in the door. A mere glance at the list reveals the unwritten name—United States. Without the encouragement of the American delegation it is hard to imagine those particular countries taking the initiative or their resolution having any

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chance of adoption. To win the necessary two-thirds' majority, this move must have the support of several European countries which have voted against Franco in the past.

Heavy American pressure has been brought to bear on France to induce it to change its position. Whether this will happen remains to be seen. The French people still remember that Spanish Republicans shed a lot of Spanish blood to help liberate France; they know that the Falangist radio, even today, insults and abuses France. The same with Britain. The 800,000 votes cast in the Labor Party Congress at Margate against the government's foreign policy represented in part the indignation aroused by rumors that Britain was going to change its stand on Spain.

To fortify their opposition to the pro-Franco resolution, delegations that still care about the prestige of the United Nations should read two documents—the Potsdam Declaration and the volume of German papers on the Spanish war published today by the State Department. As Foreign Minister of my country during the entire period of "non-intervention," I can say that these documents tell no more than a fraction of the story of Hitler's role in bringing Franco to power. But it is enough to justify the declaration of San Francisco and the resolution of 1946. It is not primarily the totalitarian character of the Franco regime that makes it an international outlaw, but its origin. The attempt to tie it up in the same bundle with Communist China is a disingenuous maneuver that should deceive no one.

OUTLOOK FOR NOVEMBER

II. Donnell Luck and Missouri Scandal

BY ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

St. Louis, October 3

MISSOURI'S Republican Senator Forrest Donnell is conducting another of his patented campaigns on behalf of his opponent. Indeed, he has added a refinement. He is praising not only former Representative Thomas Hennings, Jr., the Democratic senatorial candidate, but also Mr. Hennings, Sr. Senator Donnell is so obviously sincere in these testimonials that if courtesy and personal rectitude were the only requirements for public office, one could hardly deplore his reelection.

The incumbent Senator's chances on November 7—and the possible repudiation of the Truman Administration in the President's own state—may depend less than has been the case in the past on the so-called Donnell luck. In 1940 he won the governorship by a margin of only 3,613 votes of 1,819,447 cast. Four years later he was elected to the Senate by a margin of 1,900 out of 1,556,358 votes. These victories, however, seem more impressive when one recalls that they were won in the face of decisive votes against Wendell Willkie and Governor Dewey. Donnell may have been elected each time by only a few votes, but there is no gainsaying his gifts as a campaigner—especially in rural Missouri.

If there is any Donnell luck, it should be labeled "Made by Democrats." In both 1940 and 1944 the Democrats' candidate was an unhappy choice. This time it is different. Hennings is a member of a highly respected St. Louis law firm. He served in Congress in the New Deal years and in the navy during the war. He is, on the whole, liberal and pro-labor in outlook. And he defeated the organization-chosen, Truman-blessed candidate, State Senator Emery Allison, for the nomination.

In that contest, incidentally, 404,000 Democratic votes were cast as against 236,000 in the Republican primary. The difference needs to be discounted a bit, since the Republicans in Missouri's solidly Democratic counties generally vote in the Democratic primary to have a say in filling local offices. But they vote for G. O. P. candidates for national offices in November. When it comes to figures, Missouri Democrats are inclined to put more value on the 160,000 votes by which President Truman carried the state in 1948. Of those votes 100,000 were cast in St. Louis.

Even more telling contributions to Donnell luck than weak Democratic candidates have been such Democratic scandals as the venalities of the old Pendergast machine and the attempt to keep Donnell out of the governorship after he had won it (see Truman in Missouri, *The Nation*, April 1, 1950). And the Missouri press is again full of Democratic scandals and near-scandals. In the last week of September the Senate Crime Investigating Committee, under the chairmanship of Democratic Senator Kefauver, turned the spot light on

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ERNEST KIRSCHTEN, a member of the editorial staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, *has written frequently for* The Nation. *The first article of this series, Excitement in Connecticut, by Robert Bendiner, appeared last week. The second and third, in this issue, will be followed next week by one on Illinois, by Herman Kogan.*

Answer to Who's Who? Fred Astaire, Ray Bolger.

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the murdered Kansas City boss, Charles Binaggio, and his efforts to arrange an alliance between the underworld and the Democratic state administration.

It never was a secret that Binaggio was the heir of the Kansas City gangsters of the bloody 1920's, that he was a representative of the Capone racing-news syndicate, and that he and his associates contributed to the election of Governor Forrest Smith. As Smith took office, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* disclosed that gamblers and gangsters expected him to name to the St. Louis and Kansas City police boards men who would give them the green light for wide-open operations. The scheme was thwarted, but the Kefauver committee, even though it seemed reluctant to push its Missouri investigations as far as possible, has helped to round out the original story with names, dates, and amounts.

Tom Hennings is neither a gangster nor a gambler, no more than is Forrest Donnell. His reputation is well established, but he is handicapped by the past of the Democratic Party in Missouri. He has sought to unite all Democratic elements in his support. The question whether this will cost more votes than it yields must be his chief worry.

Almost as big a worry is the impact of McCarthyism on Missouri. Some pretty hysterical talk can be heard here these days. What it will mean in districts which have been Democratic since the Civil War is hard to say, but it can hardly be counted in Hennings's favor. He had the fine courage to denounce the McCarran anti-subversives bill and to praise President Truman's veto of this offense against civil rights. His refusal to yield to hysteria is perhaps the brightest feature of his campaign, especially since he might have dodged the issue. Yet it may cost him votes. Across the Mississippi in Illinois, when Senator Scott Lucas tried to explain the case against the McCarran legislation to a veterans' convention, he was hissed, booed, and repudiated. Similar veterans' organizations are found in every town in Missouri.

Whatever the immediate dictates of expediency, it must be set down to Missouri's eventual glory that not only the Democratic senatorial nominee but also ten of the state's thirteen Representatives in the House voted to uphold the President's veto of the McCarran bill. These ten—Bolling, Cannon, Carnahan, Christopher, Irving, Jones, Karst, Karsten, Sullivan, and Welch—are of course all up for reelection. Since some of them were narrowly elected two years ago, a touch of McCarthyism plus the usual trend against the party in power in an off-year could hurt.

LOCAL factors are important in these off-year contests. There is an example in the Eleventh District, which covers the silk-stocking St. Louis West End and a large section of the city's Negro district. The vote there is almost always close, and the Democrats must get a big share of the Negro votes to win. The incumbent is John B. Sullivan, an unspectacular but steady supporter of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. Things looked rather easy for him when the Republicans nominated Alderman Vernon Riehl to oppose him. But Riehl now has withdrawn for reasons of health and has been replaced on the ticket by a Negro alderman, Sidney Redmond. This could mean a lot of straight Republican ballots.

Hennings did not help things when he selected his primary opponent, State Senator Emery Allison, as his campaign keynoter. Allison was one of the bitter-end opponents of a bill to open the University of Missouri and the state colleges to Negroes on an equal footing with white students. No doubt Hennings never dreamed of taking the Allison position on this issue; yet this is unhappily the era of guilt by association—especially in politics.

Another factor is the new harmony movement among the Republicans, after they have been split for more than half a dozen years and badly split for the last two years. Rival factions have been grouped under the former national committeeman, Barak Mattingly, and the present national committeeman, Howard Stevens. This division caused so popular a Republican as former Mayor Aloys Kaufmann of St. Louis to refuse to seek reelection. Now it seems that the hatchet is to be buried on behalf of Forrest Donnell.

Apart from Donnell there are no spectacular vote-getters among the Republican candidates—unless one counts Representative Dewey Short, whose Ozark constituents are almost sure to give the Shepherd of the Hills another term. In addition to trying to capitalize on a general diminution of confidence in the Administration—a mood which may have been changed by the Marshall appointment and the victory in Korea—most of the Republicans will run on the reputation of the Democrats. And Missouri's Democrats, largely a coalition of the strong Southern element in the state and the city politicians with machine-building ambitions, do not have a brightly shining reputation. On the other hand, they come fairly close to representing the prejudices of their environment.

So far the political ouija board shows Missouri still in the uncertain column, but the erratic pointer is beginning to turn toward the Democrats. Except for some energetic bushwhacking by Hennings, the campaign is only getting under way. Senator Donnell and the House members have just returned from Washington. A lot of speeches are going to be made in the next month. Traveling in a neon-lighted sound truck, Donnell is to appear in four or five towns almost every day. The Hennings schedule is equally strenuous. These two are going to do a lot of hand-shaking, but with their aversion to dirty politics they may succeed in inducing Missouri voters to concentrate on national and inter-

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national issues. The Democratic Congressmen, reluctant as they may be to sin against party regularity, will probably point out that they have been far from the shenanigans at home and are hardly to be held accountable for them.

They may convince the voters that President Truman must be supported not just because he is a Missourian but because a Congress more badly divided than the last could in these troubled times mean disaster for a free nation and a free world.

III. Stand-off in the Northwest

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Vancouver, October 5

"IT'S A good thing the Marines landed at Inchon. If they hadn't, I think it would have been me landing there instead, just to get away from Clark County on Election Day." This comment by a local Democratic leader emphasizes how closely the fortunes of his party, in these states bordering on the Pacific Ocean, are linked to the Korean war. Only a few weeks before, when the Communists still threatened our beachhead at Pusan, Democrats were braced for a political catastrophe. Suddenly the clouds parted. Louis Johnson gave way to George C. Marshall, extraordinarily popular in this region because he long commanded Vancouver Barracks and still fly-fishes in the Umpqua. Then the landings east of Seoul completely altered the complexion of the fighting. Republicans now joke bitterly that "MacArthur ought to change his registration because he may have saved the election for the Democrats."

In a situation so mercurial it is hard to discern any positive trend. Prospects vary from state to state and from district to district. For example, Representative Henry M. Jackson should win easily in the Second Washington District, although in the First District his fellow Fair Deal Congressman, Hugh B. Mitchell, faces the sternest kind of contest. And Senators Wayne Morse, Republican, of Oregon, and Warren G. Magnuson, Democrat, of neighboring Washington, evidently regard their seats as so secure that they plan to take off on October 15, at the peak of the campaign, to inspect military bases in Alaska.

Two other Senate desks are at stake this fall in the Northwest, and unless either party can generate a landslide of 1946 size, a stand-off is possible. In Idaho Herman Welker, a flamboyant Republican newcomer of the Joe McCarthy kidney, is expected to defeat D. Worth Clark, right-wing Democrat with isolationist tendencies. The fourth contest, also in Idaho, may be the closest of all. Henry C. Dworshak, a benevolent white-haired Republican with Stone Age views, was badly beaten in his bid for reelection two years ago. Then his conqueror died, and Dworshak returned to the Senate by appointment, a move that helped retire Governor C. A. Robins to private life. Dworshak could lose again, this time to a World War II veteran named Claude Burtenshaw who teaches political science at Ricks College, a Mormon school in the Snake River Valley.

Welker's probable victory will give Senators Jenner and McCarthy a soul mate. This hunting companion of Bing Crosby won the Republican primary by spying a Communist behind every boulder in the mile-deep Salmon River Gorge. Glen Taylor might have crowded Welker. But Worth Clark, the only major Democratic nominee in Idaho not indorsed by organized labor, offers so little contrast that the strident and noisy Welker is an almost sure bet.

Liberals in this state of vast distances and few cities are concentrating on Calvin Wright for governor and Burtenshaw for the other Senate term. Neither of these men would be regarded as a liberal by settlement-house standards, but they do pretty well for Idaho. Both will follow the President's lead on most issues. Burtenshaw is a spectacular orator of the Borah school, and he draws big crowds.

THE most certain Senate race in the Northwest is that between the volatile Wayne Morse in Oregon and his sixty-seven-year-old Democratic opponent, Howard Latourette. Campaigning as a "Jeffersonian Democrat," Latourette carries around his neck the albatross of a completely reactionary voting record in the state legislature. Despite such Morse vagaries as stumping for Harry Cain in Washington, labor is united behind this Republican maverick, who made the principal Senate speech against the $100,000,000 loan to France. On the other hand, Morse is believed to have committed himself to campaign for the antediluvian politicians who share the Republican ticket with him in Oregon. His planned inspection flight to Alaska could, however, conveniently cancel these agreements.

Although party leaders in Oregon embraced Latourette in the name of unity, he rejected their caresses this week and returned a $2,000 campaign contribution from the Democratic National Committee, saying the donation was too skimpy and accusing the party of being

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secretly for Morse. At the same time the industrialists who had tried unsuccessfully to purge Morse in the Republican primary sent out letters asking for funds for his Democratic adversary, who was described as a man "free from socialistic influences." In the midst of all this, Morse, who had actively opposed the Columbia Valley Authority in the primary campaign, began to bid for public-power votes.

Except for Latourette, who is a relic from the past, the appeal of the Democratic slate in Oregon is the highest it ever has been in this Republican citadel, long known as "the Maine of the West." The Democrats actually could crack the state's solidly Republican Congressional delegation now that the many new residents in Oregon at last are beginning to register.

Oregon also has a gubernatorial contest. Austin Flegel, a shipbuilder with a conservative past but a liberal platform, is challenging Governor Douglas McKay, who will not even take a public stand on what day of the week it is. A Portland *Oregonian* poll in July gave McKay 63 per cent of the vote and Flegel a mere 16 per cent. No one believes the final figures will be anything like this. A strong Democratic current could conceivably carry Flegel to victory.

IN WASHINGTON, Democrats facing tough fights are relying on Senator Magnuson to pull the ticket to victory. Magnuson is opposed by W. Walter Williams, a Seattle realtor who acquired a reputation for business statesmanship when he succeeded Paul Hoffman as national chairman of the Committee for Economic Development. Williams's campaign speeches, however, seem to be a calculated effort to destroy that reputation.

In the state most heavily dependent on federal spending for employment, Williams constantly denounces government fiscal policies. Magnuson, by contrast, talks about Grand Coulee Dam, the Puget Sound shipyards, the Boeing airplane factory, and the Hanford atomic-energy works. Williams is silent when the Democrats ask him if he believes these local projects were financed with wampum.

A sweep for Magnuson would be of material assistance to Congressman Hugh Mitchell, whose Republican adversary in the Seattle district is Mrs. F. F. Powell, a clubwoman, Parent-Teachers leader, and perennial member of the City Council with few enemies. "We'd a hundred times rather oppose a bellowing reactionary like Harry Cain than a nice, sweet woman like Mrs. Powell, whose voting record in the final analysis might not be too far from Cain's," confessed one of Mitchell's prominent backers.

In view of this formidable opposition, Mitchell's vote to sustain the President's veto of the McCarran bill must rank as an outstanding display of courage. The Republicans are hammering him hard in a district made sensitive to the Communist issue by the fact that it was represented for a term by Hugh DeLacy, a consistent party-liner. However, Mitchell's reputation for integrity has been enhanced and his loyal followers made even more devoted.

In Montana there are no important statewide contests. But the looming victory of Congressman Mike Mansfield in the Butte district has significance for 1952, when he probably will unseat Senator Zales N. Ecton. Mansfield, a former professor of Oriental history at the University of Montana, is a Democratic whip in the House and one of the most attractive political figures ever to come out of his state. Tall, lean, and skeptical, he is a poor subject for the red-baiting of Montana Republicans. At the age of fifteen he was fighting overseas in World War I, and he has served in the army, navy, and marine corps. Hungry Horse Dam on the headwaters of the Columbia is a monument to his persisting crusading for public power.

IN GENERAL, Northwestern Democrats have superior candidates. Magnuson and Mansfield, among the incumbents, can offer voting records that are nearly perfect from the standpoint of labor and agriculture. Magnuson and Henry Jackson have particular appeal for the thousands of Scandinavians in Washington, a factor not to be minimized. Oregon Democrats present a specific program; Oregon Republicans only the traditional glittering generalities.

Of course, there are numerous imponderables. Food prices have moved steadily upward since battle flared in Korea. The man whose pockets are picked at the grocery store is the man who, by and large, has been the bulwark of Democratic voting strength. The question to be answered on November 7 is: Does he blame Truman for not imposing controls, or does he feel the Republicans would do even less to hold down prices?

A corollary of this is the prevailing attitude on excess-profits taxes. It is obvious that most American families want dollars drafted when their sons are called to arms. But who, in their eyes, is to blame for failure to enact a tax on war profits—the Democratic President, who failed to press for it, or the Republicans in Congress, who lined up with the Dixiecrats as its bitterest enemies?

One source of worry to Democrats is the increased deductions from pay-roll checks which went into effect Otober 1, marking the first time that the withholding tax has been increased. Some grumbling was heard when the reduced take-home pay became evident, and Democratic candidates hope this will not work against them at the polls.

To some extent, McCarthyism seems to have faded as a partisan issue. After all, Truman, who was sup-

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posed to be "soft" toward communism, issued the orders which resulted in the routing of Communist armies in the field.

Although the Democrats still have approximately ten campaign pennies to match each Republican dollar, they have done better financially since the remarkable shift of fortunes in Korea. Yet more and more people are becoming convinced that real controls must be placed on political expenditures. Democrats go into office obligated to race-track owners and liquor dealers. Republicans owe favors to utility magnates, sawmill owners, and the real-estate corporations.

As of today the Democrats' prospects are looking up. Of course all bets are off if there is some cataclysmic international event. "The headlines of November 6 could decide the voting on November 7," says the *Oregon Daily Journal*. In fact, Democratic candidates are pleading with the Administration not to do anything to help seat Communist China in the United Nations before Election Day.

Dollars and Doctors

BY LEONARD ENGEL

THE campaign against national health insurance waged by the American Medical Association is now reaching a climax, with ads in 11,000 daily and weekly newspapers and 30 magazines and on 1,200 radio stations. The ads not only proclaim the A. M. A.'s version of freedom in thumping platitudes but contain, in small type, a plug for voluntary health insurance as "the American answer to every question of medical service, care, and cost." Whatever one may say of the rest of the copy, this description of voluntary health insurance is certainly a whopper. Between 65,000,000 and 70,000,000 Americans have some form of health insurance. The great majority belong to Blue Cross, the prepaid hospitalization plan indorsed by the A. M. A., or carry commercial insurance against hospital expense. Neither method is remotely an answer to "every question of medical service, care, and cost"; they apply only to hospitalized illness—a comparatively small item in the usual family medical budget—and the coverage is far from complete. Nor do the A. M. A.-sponsored Blue Shield medical and surgical plans fill the bill; most merely pay, in whole or in part, for a specified list of operations. As a matter of fact, not even the comprehensive voluntary plans which the A. M. A. has opposed almost as vigorously as national health insurance provide the answer.

Take, for example, the Health Insurance Plan of New York City, one of the best voluntary schemes. This organization, now in its fourth year, furnishes an extraordinary range of services for its quarter of a million members. It shows what a really comprehensive scheme can and should do, and how little basis there is for many of the A. M. A.'s fears concerning comprehensive prepaid medical care. At the same time it demonstrates conclusively that adequate medical care will never be within the reach of all Americans without national health insurance, supplemented by substantial initial grants from the federal treasury.

The Health Insurance Plan of New York City is a non-profit organization. On its board of directors are the Mayor, two bank presidents, representatives of the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., and the public, and eight physicians, among them two deans of medical schools. The plan operates through thirty medical groups distributed over the city. The average group includes a dozen general physicians and from fifteen to twenty specialists of various types, usually on a part-time basis. One group serves 26,000 patients, and two others about 20,000 each; most of them serve between 5,000 and 10,000.

ON JOINING H. I. P. you choose a convenient group and a general practitioner in the group to act as your family doctor. Thereafter you will be in his charge for whatever medical attention you require. Transfers to other physicians or groups are easily arranged if you become dissatisfied. The premiums cover any number of home and office visits as well as treatment in a hospital. The cost of hospitalization itself is covered by a separate Blue Cross or commercial-hospital insurance contract, which all H. I. P. members must carry. If the services of a specialist are needed, the general practitioner calls on one of those in the group; in the larger groups, many of which have set up well-equipped centers, this may be merely a matter of stepping across the hall. General medical care, surgery of every type except plastic surgery for purely cosmetic purposes, preventive services (including periodic check-ups), maternity and pediatric care, laboratory tests, X-ray examinations and treatment, radium and radon treatment, physical therapy, and psychiatric advice are all provided. Visiting-nurse and ambulance service are also furnished. All types of illness and disability are covered, including pre-existing conditions; no physical examina-

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tion is required for admission, and there is no waiting period or age limit. The only conditions excluded are drug addiction, acute alcoholism, mental disorders requiring long-term treatment, and tuberculosis. Drugs, eyeglasses, hearing aids, braces and other prosthetic devices, and dental work are not furnished. The patient must also pay for blood and plasma—but not for its administration—unless he can obtain it through the Red Cross; and a fee of $2 may be charged for night calls, though many groups actually collect the charge only in cases of abuse.

Thus H. I. P. comes close to providing, in one neatly budgeted package, everything member families may need in the way of medical care. Unfortunately, the premiums are higher than many can afford, and employees of small firms and the self-employed are effectively barred, since members must be taken in in sizable groups in order to avoid overloading the lists with individuals who are frequently ill. Moreover, H. I. P. needed outside financial help to get started—and similar plans elsewhere would probably need more. Before going into these questions, however, let us see what light H. I. P. experience casts on the A. M. A.'s objections to comprehensive prepaid medical care, whether compulsory or voluntary.

One of the A. M. A.'s fears is that people will take advantage of plans providing unlimited home and office visits to send for the doctor for trivial complaints and to demand unnecessary treatment. Very little of this has occurred in H. I. P. For a few months after setting up shop, most of the medical groups experienced a flurry of extra work, but the rush was due to the backlog of unattended ailments, plus people's natural curiosity to see how the scheme worked. Once curiosity and previously unmet needs were satisfied, the number of calls for trifling complaints dropped off sharply. In fact, in the opinion of many H. I. P. doctors, it has dropped off too sharply. One of the primary purposes of such a plan is the encouragement of preventive medicine. H. I. P. wants patients to come in for periodic examinations, even when they feel well, and to bring slight complaints to the doctor in order to permit early diagnosis. Most units have found it necessary to campaign aggressively to get their members to do this. H. I. P. patients use the services of a physician —ranging from office visits to major operations—an average of five times a year, which is probably less than is desirable.

More serious is the A. M. A.'s repeated contention that medical standards are bound to be lowered when the doctor is taken out of his private office and made part of a "medical bureaucracy." While H. I. P. is hardly big enough to qualify as a bureauracy, its scheme of group practice is sufficiently close to the pattern that will eventually develop under national health insurance to make its experience pertinent.

There is evidence that H. I. P. is raising standards rather than lowering them and that patients receive not only more care but better care than they would from most private practitioners. Between July 1, 1948, and June 30, 1949, for example, H. I. P. physicians delivered 1,015 babies. According to a report in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* by Dr. George Baehr, head of the New York Academy of Medicine and president and medical director of H. I. P., no mothers died; caesarian section was required in only 2.7 per cent of the deliveries as against 4.7 per cent for New York City generally during the same period; and there were only 9 infant deaths per 1,000 live births, as against 20 per 1,000 for the city. This impressive record was achieved despite the fact that H. I. P. had more than twice the city's proportion of mothers over thirty-five years of age, and four times the proportion of first-time mothers over forty.

DR. HENRY MAKOVER, director of H. I. P.'s Central Manhattan Medical Group, has devised a yardstick for measuring medical performance. Basically, it is a check on how many of the procedures recommended for various types of patients are actually carried out. It is more a quantitative than a qualitative measure of medical services, but medical authorities agree that there is a connection between the conscientiousness with which recommended procedures are carried out and the doctor's level of skill. When the yardstick was applied to the twenty-six H. I. P. medical groups in operation before the beginning of this year, it was found that four groups maintained standards comparable to those of a medical-school teaching hospital and that nine other groups were not far behind. Dr. Makover believes that the standards of the rest are substantially above the standards of individual medical practice, although a comparable study of the records of private practitioners has not yet been made. More important, the yardstick is proving an effective means of raising standards. Many of the shortcomings revealed have been corrected, and the standards of the poorer groups are already visibly higher than they were a scant half-year ago. Private practice has no equivalent device for self-improvement.

The H. I. P. idea is no doubt destined to spread, but schemes of this kind cannot be expected to cover more than a small part of the population. In the first place, in its present stage of development, H. I. P. cannot accept subscribers from employed groups of less than ten members. As it expands, it may be able to adopt a more liberal policy. It is doubtful, however, that H. I. P. or any similar scheme will ever be able to take in the self-employed or employed groups of less than five. This eliminates a third of the population.

In the second place, the basic family rate of $102 a year, not including hospitalization, is roughly 3 per

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cent of a $3,000 annual income. Experience shows that drugs, eyeglasses, hospitalization, and so forth often cost a family as much more. Thus the total expenditure for medical care of a $3,000-a-year H. I. P. family will amount to 6 per cent of its earnings, whereas the average non-insured family in the same income bracket spends only 4 per cent. H. I. P. has got around this problem by requiring employers to pay half of the premiums for their employees. But how many people work for employers who are willing to do this or can be compelled to except by the authority of the law?

The premiums are as low as it is possible to set them. The receipts of a group with 10,000 subscribers are approximately $230,000 a year, which must cover the group's operating costs as well as payments to participating physicians. Some groups which do not yet have the required centers and operate mainly from member physicians' offices pay their doctors an average of $10,000 a year, for full time. The groups with the best centers, however, are able to pay physicians only $7,500 a year (full time)—a hardly adequate net income in this day and age for a man with the training of a doctor.

One of the remarkable things about H. I. P. is that the doctors in several of the best groups have been willing and able to finance the construction of elaborate health centers. Other groups have needed outside assistance. Starting costs of H. I. P.'s central administration were met by substantial grants and loans from the Rockefeller and other charitable foundations. It is quite clear that even an outstanding voluntary health-insurance plan like H. I. P., which does answer many questions of medical costs, cannot answer them for the self-employed, for those with incomes of less than several thousand dollars a year, or for areas with limited financial resources. Nothing short of compulsory nation-wide health insurance, supplemented by initial federal grants for the construction of facilities, will solve the problems the A. M. A. so lightly contends are already disposed of.

De Gasperi vs. Catholic Action

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, September 22

THE organ of Italian Catholic Action, *Il Quotidiano,* has changed its editor. Federico Alessandrini has been sent back to the *Osservatore Romano* at Vatican City, and the editorship of *Il Quotidiano* has been taken over by Luigi Gedda, who represents Catholic Action's right wing and is undisputed leader of the whole organization. Under him a first-class newspaper has degenerated into a vulgar sheet. Even more important are the political implications of the change.

For many years Gedda and De Gasperi have sharply disagreed as to the role that Catholics should play in Italian politics. De Gasperi has maintained that the Christian Democratic Party should be inspired by Catholic doctrine and principles but be independent of immediate Vatican directives. In all disputes between the Italian state and Vatican City he has put the interests of Italy first. The Vatican reacted by awarding him only a second-class decoration when he visited the Pope in an official capacity on the anniversary of the reconciliation between state and church. This may seem an unimportant incident, but in Vatican diplomacy such gestures are meaningful.

De Gasperi has backed the church as a religious organization, helping it to gain control of education and to fight divorce and birth control, but he has not completely surrendered to its political ambitions. As an old-school liberal, in the Austrian sense, he would safeguard civil rights, although he is insensitive to social and economic problems. As a politician he is extremely shrewd. Though the Vatican greatly resents the presence in the government of Republicans and Social Democrats, De Gasperi keeps them there as a balance against the church; and though the Premier supports the Atlantic Pact and close alliance with America, he uses the Vatican as a bulwark against foreign pressure. To the church, however, a government that calls itself Catholic should place all the interests of the church first and completely identify the good of Italy with that of the Vatican. This is the reason that a fanatic like Gedda is being favored.

The Christian Democrats have only a very loose organization. The party is relatively small, and its sections are poor and inefficient. But behind the Christian Democrats is Catholic Action, with a section or club in every city and village. It was Catholic Action which organized the election campaign of the Christian Democratic Party and got it twelve million votes. Depending on its own means the party would probably have received no more votes than Saragat's Social Democrats or Pacciardi's Republicans.

So far Catholic Action has supported the Christian Democrats because it had no other alternative, but on at least two occasions it has made its influence felt. In 1946, during the municipal elections in Rome, as a re-

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prisal for De Gasperi's refusal to throw out the Communists and Socialists, Catholic Action supported the Common Man Party (Giannini's *Uomo Qualunque.*) In consequence the Christian Democrats lost 100,000 votes and the election. Shortly afterward De Gasperi formed a new Cabinet without the left. In 1948 Catholic Action forced the Christian Democrats to leave the General Confederation of Labor and form a Catholic labor organization, thus breaking the unity of the working class.

Gedda has for a long time wanted another Catholic party to keep the Christian Democrats in line and eventually offer an alternative to them. After Giannini's Common Man Party proved ineffective and disappeared, it was rumored that Gedda planned to form a rightist coalition to oppose the Christian Democracy, which he considers too far to the left. This coalition would find its main support among the monarchists and would include all conservatives from the Liberals to the neo-Fascists of the Movimento Sociale Italiano (M. S. I.). The project did not materialize, but the fact that Gedda considered it necessary to have another Catholic party is interesting. And it must not be forgotten that after the First World War the Christian Democratic Party was sacrificed to Fascism. Its leader, Luigi Sturzo, a Catholic priest, had to take refuge abroad, and the church neither objected nor protested. At that time De Gasperi was secretary of the party, and he must know what happened.

In the present struggle between De Gasperi and Gedda it is difficult to foresee who will be the winner. De Gasperi is still the only Catholic who can form a government which will enjoy the confidence of the majority of the population. At the same time the party is slipping more and more to the right. When its secretary, Taviani, tried to separate the responsibilities of the party from those of the church, he was kicked upstairs and given a diplomatic post. The present secretary is Guido Gonella, who enjoys the unlimited trust of the church.

DE GASPERI and Gedda have had very different careers. De Gasperi is a professional politician. Before the First World War he represented Trentino in the Austrian Parliament. After the war he joined the Italian Popular Party, as the Christian Democracy was then called, and became its national secretary. He opposed Fascism and was persecuted. When he saw that further struggle was useless, he accepted a position as librarian at the Vatican and emerged only after Mussolini's downfall. He was no militant opponent of the Fascist regime, but at least he did not compromise with it.

Gedda did not retire to a library when Fascism consolidated its power. After Mussolini and the Vatican signed the Lateran Pacts in 1929, he became the leader of Catholic Action Youth. In 1931, after a two-year dispute between the church and Mussolini over who should be responsible for education, Catholic Action surrendered to Fascism. Gedda then joined the Fascist militia and ordered the other Catholic Youth leaders to do the same in order to have a "respectable" vantage point from which to continue their efforts. For twelve years he ably employed every ruse to keep together some sort of political organization. Thus when Fascism was overthrown, Christian Democracy could quickly emerge. Recently the Pope appointed Gedda vice-president of Catholic Action, with such wide powers that he is in fact the president.

During the election of 1948 Gedda created the Civic Committees, a Catholic propaganda machine which was responsible for the Christian Democratic victory. He also organized a Catholic Film Center and a Catholic Theater Center. He is president of a publishing house, editor of half a dozen papers, a film producer, and promoter of an international youth organization. The impressive buildings on the Via della Conciliazione facing Saint Peter's where the various committees of Catholic Action are housed are like ministries, only more active and efficient.

The *Gazzetta del Popolo* of Turin has said that Gedda has the advantage over De Gasperi of not believing in parliamentary democracy. Some people refer to him as the "Italian Salazar." He has formed his own "party" solidly knit, blindly obedient to his orders. Christian Democracy, like its predecessor the Popular Party, may disappear, but Catholic Action will remain, and go on helping the bishops and the lower clergy to carry out the Pope's directives. De Gasperi makes speeches to indifferent crowds who gather to see what a Premier looks like; Gedda, to young Catholic fanatics and priests in parochial clubs. The people applaud De Gasperi but follow Gedda. Gedda chooses most of the candidates for Parliament, and a good half of the Christian Democratic deputies are his men.

The right wing of Catholic Action led by Gedda is violently opposed by a left wing under Dossetti. The leftists are also bigots and obedient to the Vatican, but they have a more intelligent awareness of the condition of the poor. They favor social reforms as a means of beating the Communists. Gedda and the bishops are not interested in reforms. If the left wing of Catholic Action should ever dominate the government of Italy, it would institute a regime that would be called not reactionary but medieval. It might break up the big estates, but it would distribute the land only to farmers who go to mass every morning.

This writer has for years attacked De Gasperi as a Jesuitical politician who has no consideration for the welfare of the workers and farmers and uses the police to repress disturbances due only to poverty and unemployment, but if Italians must choose between De Gasperi and Gedda, De Gasperi is the lesser evil. Under him at least outer forms of democracy have survived; under Gedda, Italy would be a true copy of Franco's Spain.

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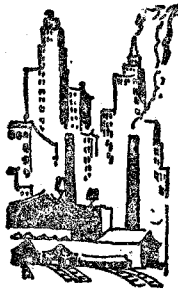

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Sterling's Convalescence

IN THE twelve months that have elapsed since Sir Stafford Cripps announced that the exchange value of the pound was to be cut from $4 to $2.80, a quite astonishing improvement in the sterling area's gold and dollar reserves has taken place. At their pre-devaluation low in September, 1949, these reserves were down to $1,340 million—nearly $700 million below what was considered to be the minimum safety level. But for the past year they have been steadily rising and on September 30 reached $2,756 million, which seems to indicate that devaluation proved a very efficacious medicine for the pernicious anemia which had affected sterling.

However, the patient is not yet in really robust health, and it is certainly premature to talk of an upward revaluation of the pound. Even though sterling-area reserves are today higher than at any time since 1939, Hugh Gaitskill, Britain's Minister for Economic Affairs, has good reasons for declaring that they are still "far too low." In the first place, as he pointed out in a speech on October 3, in terms of purchasing power they are well below the pre-war level. Secondly, they represent not much more than a quarter of the sterling area's current liabilities. And finally, while the immediate outlook for further expansion is promising, recent political and economic developments may lead to new difficulties in 1951.

The sterling area's change-over from a dollar deficit to a dollar surplus in its trading operations has been due to a number of related forces. Up to the end of last June, at least, the chief contributory factor was a decline in dollar imports averaging some $84 million per month. This decline reflected conscious efforts by Britain and the Commonwealth countries to cut down their purchases of North American goods, efforts which were reinforced by the deterrent effect of the automatic increase in the price of such goods brought about by inflation.

So far the growth of exports has played a relatively minor part in righting the balance. In the first nine months after devaluation, sterling-area sales to the United States and Canada showed an average monthly increase of only $13 million. However, when detailed trade returns for the quarter just ended are available, they will probably show a considerable expansion in dollar earnings, for British manufacturers have only recently begun to cash in on the competitive advantages they derived from devaluation. The mere cheapening of their goods in terms of dollars was not enough: they had to study the American market, adapt their designs to it, establish sales agencies, and build up stocks. A good many of them have now made these essential preliminary moves, and the results are becoming apparent. Christmas retail displays, it is reported, will feature a wider variety of British merchandise than in many a long day.

Even so the role of manufactured goods as dollar-earners for the sterling area is likely to remain subordinate to that of the raw materials produced by the British colonies and the Commonwealth countries—Malayan tin and rubber, Australian and South African wool and metals, West African cocoa, Indian jute, and many others. Even before the outbreak of the Korean war, American demand for such products was increasing: since then it has grown by leaps and bounds, and prices have risen steeply. However, because of the time-lag between the placing of orders and payment for actual shipments, it is probable that the sterling area's reserves will benefit increasingly from our rearmament boom in the months ahead.

From the British point of view this boom in raw materials is not an unmixed blessing. Britain itself is a large importer of primary products, and thus the sharp increase in prices tends to increase its trade deficit even though it strengthens the position of the sterling area as a whole. And since the prices of imported raw materials have advanced to a much greater extent than those of finished products, Britain finds its "term of trade" deteriorating: that is to say, in order to import a given quantity of rubber or tin it must export more yards of cotton cloth or more automobiles. Actually Britain has not been expanding its sales to the sterling area as rapidly as its purchases, and as a result, its already enormous debt, represented by unfunded sterling balances at the Bank of England, is growing larger.

Contrary to all expectations, the internal inflationary pressures which were expected in Britain following devaluation have so far been held in check. Although between September 30, 1949, and July 1, 1950, import prices advanced by 20 per cent and wholesale prices by 12 per cent, the cost-of-living index moved up only 1.9 points, or from 111.7 to 113.6, and the wage index added but one point. With productivity rising steadily—by 8 per cent in the first half of this year—labor costs in many industries have fallen sufficiently to offset the effects of increased raw-material prices.

This record of stability is now threatened. The post-Korean advances in such commodities as cotton, wool, and metals, as well as in some foodstuffs, will inevitably be reflected in retail prices before long. And now that the trade unions have modified theiry policy of wage restraints, any further increase in the cost of living will generate irresistible pressure for revision of union contracts.

A gradual increase in prices of British manufactures seems certain, therefore, and although in view of inflationary trends here they may remain cheaper than comparable American goods, they will become less competitive in relation to the products of reviving German and Japanese industries. Moreover, the ability of British industries to expand overseas sales is going to be limited by the diversion of part of their capacity to armament production for the new defense program. Under these circumstances, we can hardly expect that the recovery of sterling will continue at the rate achieved in the past year. Indeed, the mounting strains to which Britain's economy is likely to be subjected in 1951, may very well lead to some retrogression.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

THE MARCELINS—NOVELISTS OF HAITI

BY EDMUND WILSON

THERE came to me, several years ago, the translation of a novel called "Canapé-Vert," which in 1943 had won the prize in a Latin American fiction contest. This book was the work of two Haitians, the brothers Pierre Marcelin and Philippe Thoby-Marcelin, and it dealt with contemporary Haitian life. I had always had a sympathetic interest in Haiti, and I read "Canapé-Vert" primarily out of curiosity to know what kinds of lives were being lived and what kind of literature was being produced by that people of mixed French and Negro blood who had successfully stood up to the exploiters of what was once the richest West Indian colony and who, even after their great leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, had been trapped and imprisoned by Napoleon, had effected the complete expulsion of an invading French army under Rochambeau. I was astonished by what I found. The material of the book was quite primitive and at the same time fantastically elaborate: a society so unfamiliar, a set of beliefs so outlandish, that at first it was difficult for the foreigner to grasp the situations at all; but this subject had been handled by the authors with an intelligence so sophisticated in both a literary and an anthropological way that the book itself seemed to imply a very high level of culture.

This led me to read the Marcelins' other books and books by other Haitian writers, and eventually to visit Haiti. There I learned with surprise from the librarian of the Bibliothèque Nationale (founded in 1812 and supposed to have been the first in the Americas) that Haiti, since its liberation in 1803-04, had produced a greater number of books, about five thousand, in proportion to the population than any other American country with the exception of the United States—more even than Brazil or Argentina. That this literature was not merely colonial, not merely a remote imitation of French, I had discovered already from the Marcelins. Their standards of good writing were French, but their language was partly archaic—they wrote, for example, *au mitan de* instead of *au milieu de*—and partly exotic: full of words and things peculiar to the West Indies. Their irony might partly derive from Maupassant and Anatole France, but their point of view was quite their own, and their material had nothing in common with any to be found in France. They were boldly because naturally Haitian. It had, however, been more or less true up almost to the end of the nineteenth century that Haitian literature leaned heavily on France. The Haitians had their classicism, their romanticism, their parnassianism, their naturalism, and their symbolism. The chief novelist of the nineteenth century, D. Délorme, did not write about Haiti at all but made his stories all take place in Italy, France, or Turkey. Haitian authors were published in Paris, and they were sometimes crowned by the Academy. It was not till the late nineties that Frédéric Marcelin—a cousin of the authors of "Canapé-Vert"—began to write novels of native life, and it was not till the late nineteen-twenties that this life was completely explored without literary or social inhibitions.

The educated classes in Haiti—mulattoes brought up in the French tradition and sometimes educated in France—are only about 10 per cent of the total population. There multiplies below their level, there stretches beyond their towns, a people of black peasants, who live in huts of mud and lath thatched with banana leaves, practice the Voodoo religion, which the Negroes brought with them from Africa, and speak Creole, a rudimentary language compounded of African and French. The cultivated people of Haiti were ashamed of this primitive race, and the writers as a rule ignored it. But in 1928 a Haitian scientist, Dr. Price-Mars, published a book called "Ainsi Parla l'Oncle: Essais d'Ethnographie" (the uncle of the title, a traditional story-teller, is closely related to Uncle Remus), which proved to be a literary landmark. Dr. Price-Mars urged upon Haitians the importance of coming to terms with the culture of the black lower classes, pointing out that its superstitions played a much more considerable role in the psychology of the educated classes than they were generally willing to admit, and made a plea to native writers to address themselves to the presentation of Haitian life in all its aspects. The year before, a magazine had been founded, *La Revue Indigène,* by a group of young men who were prepared to undertake this task and who included three individuals of exceptional courage and talent: Emil Roumer, Jacques Roumain, and Philippe Thoby-Marcelin. All had been living abroad, and all had come back to Haiti convinced that the day had arrived for their country to be given a literature that correctly represented its people.

By cultivating intensively the national field all three of these writers have produced work that has traveled beyond Haiti. Roumer, the most gifted and original poet Haiti has ever had, has recently been figuring brilliantly in international anthologies of verse. Roumain, who died in 1944, was an authority on West Indian civilization of the pre-Columbian ages. He wrote on archaeological and anthropological subjects and founded the Bureau of Ethnology of Haiti. He founded also, in 1934, the Haitian Communist Party and published stories and poems that embodied his radical point of view. His last novel, "Gouverneurs de la Rosée," has been translated as "Masters of the Dew." Philippe Thoby-Marcelin, who had begun by studying law and who had served thirteen years as a public

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The Innumerable

"Sadness multiplies self."—*Dr. Johnson*

In the world of sorrow, where
Light is not, and all the host
Multiplies the single ghost
Dwelling on the lonely coast
In the solitary air,
Where the solid shade almost
Turns to substance, and the old
Boundaries of sense are lost,

Where no leaf is ever shaken
In the windless universe,
Where the vision dims and blurs
One to many wanderers,
Alternately found, forsaken,
Prisoners, imprisoners,
Loosing and renewing hold
In a land where nothing stirs,

There in all delight you move
Under myrtle's arching cover
Through the fields of mourning, over
Toward the far unmargined river,
Infinitely lost, in love,
Unaccompanied by lover
Save the self, made manifold,
Aisled and islanded forever.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

---

official in the Ministry of Public Works, was in the days of *La Revue Indigène* mainly a poet and literary journalist.

The Marcelin family were Catholics, like all educated people in Haiti, and they had lived a good deal abroad. The young men at this time knew little of the native religion and folklore, and were startled and fascinated when, in 1929, there came into their hands a new book from the United States—"The Magic Island" by William Seabrook—which was full of amazing tales of zombies and charms and Voodoo rites that the author had picked up in Haiti. The young Marcelins—Philippe, Pierre, and a third brother, Milo, who has been compiling a scholarly work on the mythology of Voodoo—set out to investigate the popular cults, and they have made themselves authorities on the subject. This return to the people of the Haitian writers has recently been described by the poet Léon Laleau as a reaction to the American occupation of 1915-33: "The young writers of my generation," he says, "with an unyielding passion of nationalism boiling in their hearts, have been fleeing the world of the cities, so treacherous and so snobbish, that welcomes the Yankee with open arms." And it is true that there has been something in this movement of the impulse which made writers like Synge and Yeats look for nourishment in the peasant life of Ireland in order to get away from the English ascendancy. But the resistance to the occupying Yankee has been also a special instance of the general reaction in our time, as the life span of capitalism closes, against the privileges and functions of the bourgeoisie.

Now, in Haiti the town intellectual who sets out to make contact with "the toiling masses" is confronted with a special situation not provided for by Marxist theory. He finds people who are not only not class conscious, who are not only hopelessly primitive in their economic life, but who are living in imagination in a world of omnipresent myth. To treat these people as a rural proletariat, as Jacques Roumain tried to do, is to force them to play a false part. The hero of "Masters of the Dew" is supposed to have learned class solidarity from a comrade on a plantation in Cuba, and, returning to his Haitian village, he is made to die as a martyr to the cause of scientific irrigation. But this involves a discussion of principles and an eloquence of social idealism that would scarcely have been possible in Creole—which has no words for abstract ideas—in a community dominated by Voodoo. Roumain, in "Masters of the Dew" (much inferior in interest to his earlier stories), has simply written the inevitable Communist novel, the product of an exportable formula, that has appeared in so many countries.

The Haitian who "goes to the people" has to see them as they really are and to grapple with their real institutions. This the Marcelins have tried to do. In their first novel, "Canapé-Vert," they took one straight into the Voodoo world and made one accept its assumptions. This world, when one is first introduced to it, may be difficult to get the hang of, and even when the foreign reader has come to understand what is going on, he may be inclined to assume that the authors have brought together a collection of exceptional cases and exploited them for dramatic effect. A little further acquaintance with Haiti, even by way of books, will, however, dispel these doubts. The strange doings described by the Marcelins are matters of common occurrence. I was once told by the Episcopal Bishop of Haiti and the Dominican Republic—a white native of the United States who had seen a good deal of back country—that in dealing with the people of those regions he had had to readjust himself to a conception of human life that turned our own upside down: with us, it was the real world that seemed the immediate thing and the supernatural world something above and beyond, but in Haiti the immediate thing was the supernatural world—for which, of course, *super*-natural would be an inappropriate term—and what we call the real world no more than a symbolization of events in the world of religious myth. Thus we find in "Canapé-Vert" that a tree blown down on a drunkard or the bite of a mad dog is not considered a natural accident but appears as a deliberate move in a game of transgression and punishment, of revenge and counter-revenge.

It is not merely that the Haitians, like the ancient Greeks, are in the habit of explaining everything in terms of the displeasure or friendliness of one or other of their divinities, or that they act out a moral drama, as the Pueblo Indians do, only partially identifying themselves with the spirits whose roles they are playing. The central feature of the Voodoo religion is the possession of the worshiper by the spirit. He assumes the divinity's character: takes on its appearance and speaks with its voice, must gratify its favorite appetites, is swept by its peculiar passions. For his neighbors and even for his family the man or woman who, as they say, is "mounted" by one of the *loa* becomes the god or the goddess. Whether or not they have loved or respected the person whom the deity has superseded, they must now bring their tribute to this deity of whatever it is known to like—ornaments or food and drink. They must fear and propitiate the god of death; they must go to bed with the goddess of love (there has actually been preserved a contract drawn up for a marriage between this goddess and one of her preferred lovers); they must stand for the violence of a spirit who is given to terrible rages. They attribute to the possessed individual all the deity's in-

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domitable power, and he himself feels and wields this power. A miserable servant girl, as in the Marcelins' "La Bête de Musseau," may even make herself a master who is free to command her own master by emerging from a hysterical seizure in the character of a formidable divinity, known as Baron Samedi, talking in the deep voice which is recognizable at once as his and demanding the cigars and liquor with which he must always be supplied. An old woman, in "Canapé-Vert," who thinks it necessary to scold her children arranges to augment her authority with that of a goddess called La Grande Erzilie, and a man works himself up to murder by inducing in himself the delusion that he is ridden by a bloodthirsty spirit called General Anglessou. These transformations are often preceded by paroxysms like epileptic fits, and in the more serious cases these "mediums" appear to have retained no memory of what happened during their states of possession.

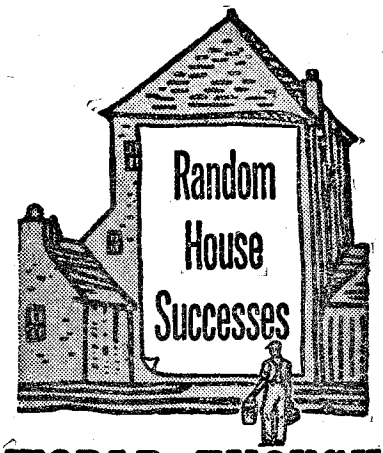
The peasants' life is further complicated by a general belief in witchcraft, which is not necessarily a part of the Voodoo religion proper. This is one of the most important elements in the Marcelins' second novel, as it is in their third, "Le Crayon de Dieu." "La Bête de Musseau" (translated as "The Beast of the Haitian Hills") is a much better story than "Canapé-Vert," for it creates the suspense of a thriller that hangs on a crisis of conscience. A bourgeois of Port au Prince, whose wife has just died, decides to satisfy a lifelong ambition by moving to the country and becoming a planter. Never having had to deal with the peasants, he makes the fatal mistake of antagonizing the local people by trying to fence off a spring on his property, and he incurs the ill-will of the local boss—a figure quite distinct from the Voodoo priest—who is supposed to practice black magic and has succeeded in reducing the community to such a state of terrorization that he can murder and rape with impunity. Eventually he breaks the morale of the mulatto from Port au Prince and drives him back to the city by arousing his African atavism and playing on his superstition.

It might be supposed, from my accounts of these books, that they could only be of special interest as glimpses of an odd civilization. But the distinguished achievement of the Marcelins, has been to make of them something more. Both these books have a larger significance. The situation of the inhabitants of "Canapé-Vert," confused among the workings of nature, the mythology they have been taught, and the instincts about good and bad that seem more or less to be felt by human beings everywhere, is made to throw a good deal of light on the situation of any social group in relation to its religion.

In tracing the contagion of myth and the real motivations it makes through the whole life of this little community, the Marcelins stimulate us to think of the role of myth in any community. Is it really very much more fantastic to screw oneself up for a speech or a crime by imagining oneself La Grande Erzilie or General Anglessou than by managing to identify oneself with the Will of the German People or the Sword of the Proletariat? So in "La Bête de Musseau" the beast is something more than a bugaboo with which the witch-doctor scares the planter; it is the bad conscience of the man he scares. This ex-grocer has been worried by a feeling of guilt in connection with the death of his wife. She had died giving birth to a child which he had known she was incapable of having, and had appeared to him at night in dreams telling him that he had killed her. But he cannot escape from this guilt by leaving Port au Prince: a retribution from the African forests awaits at Musseau the freethinker in whom has been inculcated in childhood the Catholic doctrine of sin. When he comes back to Port au Prince, he learns from a friend of his wife's that she had felt he no longer loved her and that she had wanted to win him back by giving him, at last, a child. This is the real beast that lies in wait for the enlightened bourgeois as it did for the primitive African, and in the end it will track him down.

The Marcelins' third novel, "The Pencil of God," which, not yet having been published in French, appears in translation for the first time this fall, shows the ancient superstition playing havoc in a different milieu—that of the *petits bourgeois* of a small Haitian town.

The Marcelins' work has something



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in common with that of Ignazio Silone. In returning to the meager conditions of the backward Abruzzi villages Silone produced work that turned out to be of international interest, for he had brought to them a knowledge of the world acquired through years of experience in the international labor movement. The cultivated Haitian at his best, standing between four continents —North and South America, Africa, and Europe—yet rooted in his sun-bright island, has the advantage of a critical judgment stimulated by diverse impressions, yet canny, independent, detached. With Roumer, Roumain, and the Marcelins he claims the attention of the larger world by which he has hardly been heard.

Tom Sawyer, President

THE MAN OF INDEPENDENCE. By Jonathan Daniels. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.75.

THE typical story of the White House is the story of little men who for the most part rise to the necessities of a big office. Harry Truman as a figure who typifies both the common American and the American political process is a theme that all his biographers will be tempted by, and Mr. Daniels has made it central in this well-wrought apologetic.

The pathos of the ordinary—this is Truman's secret, if he has one. No one is likely to portray him as a great President; there is even a certain chance that he may fail to achieve the reputation of a great campaigner if future historians decide to emphasize, instead of his success in 1948, the campaignless campaign in which Thomas E. Dewey snatched defeat from the jaws of victory. But he can, indeed he must, be portrayed as the authentic inland voice in our politics, as the plain Missouri boy risen to the presidency. One can sympathize with Mr. Daniels's fascination with the politics that produced him.

The first part of this biography, dealing with the early years of Truman's life, sounds like the history of your family or mine and reads like a bundle of grandmothers' reminiscences. The homely note is so pervasive that it even survives the atmosphere of *Weltpolitik*. "Stalin," said Mr. Truman, "is as near like Tom Pendergast as any man I know." And Mr. Daniels goes on: "There was a physical similarity. Stalin was built close to the ground. He carried none of the surplus weight Pendergast acquired in his later years, but both he and Pendergast had huge hands."

But, to begin, there was a fetching record of failure. As a boy Harry Truman was most interested in going to West Point and growing up to be a general, but his eyes were too poor for West Point standards. He also had some notions about becoming a concert pianist, but he allowed the community to kid him out of it. When he was twenty his father failed in business and he went to work as a bank clerk. For a while he farmed. The desire to be somebody never left him, but it never warped him. He lost money in zinc; he lost money in oil. He had failed to find a place for himself by his middle thirties, when the United States entered the First World War. The war made him a major of artillery, gave him comradeship and inspiration, and left him one of those men who seem almost incapable of being spiritually demobilized. ("My whole political career," he once declared, "is based upon my war service and war associates.") The post-war depression of the early twenties caused his famous haberdashery to fail, and he lost about $28,000, most of which had been inherited from an uncle. In his late forties he was an obscure county official earning $6,000 a year. In his late fifties, while he was engaged in a desperate fight to hold his seat in the Senate, he was still unable to prevent the foreclosure of a mortgage on his mother's farm.

Mr. Daniels, who is a friend of the President and a member of the Democratic National Committee, has already achieved something of a *cause célèbre* with this volume by airing the disintegration of one of the most uninteresting political friendships in our history —that between Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes. I fail to understand, however, why some of the Administration's opponents derive so much comfort from this as they seem to have done: not only does Truman's position appear strong enough at the moment, but this biography, in so far as it is read and attended to, can hardly do him anything but good. Mr. Daniels, who is an experienced journalist and a skilful writer, has made the most of the President's drab glamour. It is difficult to resist Truman's ordinariness, and I am not sure that we ought to try too hard. He is not a great man and his judgment has been spotty; but poorer judgers have been produced and endured in our country habitually.

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on his essential adequacy—granting the limitations of things human—is that it is hard to imagine a single major feature of our situation that would be drastically different today if F. D. R. had lived. The situation itself is so immense that it dwarfs the margin between a great man and an average one. Presidents replace each other like the interchangeable parts of machine industry. And in a certain curious sense our politics justifies itself by demonstrating that we can stumble along about as well under mediocrity as we can under genius. It seems to make not too much difference who rules, so long as we feel that the next apocalypse, as we used to say about prosperity, is just around the corner.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

Landscape with Figures

SOUTH. By William Sansom. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

WILLIAM SANSOM writes like an angel, and his joy in the performance communicates itself directly to the reader. There is a wonderful leisureliness about the ceremonious unfoldings of his periods as they explore, meticulously, whatever he turns his attention to. Yet Sansom is never precious, and on those levels of thought and feeling which interest him he misses nothing.

Some readers will feel that the stories in "South" do not measure up to the prose in which they are cast, and that a radical preoccupation with place obscures character and event, a reaction which Sansom must have anticipated when he subtitled this collection "Aspects and Images from Corsica, Italy, and Southern France." In his novel, "The Body," the splendid, decaying, late Victorian London suburb did neutralize the obsession of the central character. In "South" matters are more in hand, although certain difficulties endure, for landscape and architecture are always seen as more humanly meaningful than any human being. In a passage describing the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II at Milan he defines this focus on place as an index, moral, aesthetic, and historical, to the most complex but depersonalized states of thought and feeling:

. . . then comes the moment when at last, standing for the first time in exactly that renowned place, one asks oneself: What is this really like? How can one fix this for ever? How does it differ from the centers of other great cities? What are its colors, shapes, smells, sounds? And—passing from bare abstractions—what are its associative feelings? And who are its people?

He always answers the question about associative feelings in terms of his own responses; he never persuades us that he is interested in people except as evidence, rather trivial, of what the anthropomorphic powers of wind and air and light and water can shape. There is a large dose of pathetic fallacy in the assumptions on which his writing proceeds. And he consistently affixes his own awareness to his characters, so that they are all aware in the same way. He has a fine eye for color and movement—note how My Little Robins is written chiefly in terms of gesture—and a fine ear for sound. But it is no accident that one of the best of these stories is called Landscape with Figures.

If people are incidental to place, events, as Sansom sees them, deflate regularly and with too easy an irony into absurdities which constitute the human condition. Whether this gambit derives from a lack of feeling or from too much control of feeling, it is deliberate. A would-be suicide in Monaco contrives, publicly and absurdly, to break his ankle; a man preparing for what promises to be a satisfactory assignation at Nice simply falls out of his hotel window and is paralyzed from the hips down; the ritual bargainings of a ship's engineer in Ajaccio are dissipated in drunkenness and a public ceremony; a brashly competent young Englishman in Naples is neatly rooked by money changers. None of these figures is sufficiently well endowed to possess an Achilles heel; trivialities betray them. Monaco, Nice, Ajaccio, and Naples are the real subjects of these stories.

What, then, does this writing add up to? For these are not sensitive, static landscapes lightly brushed with narrative. The fullest but somewhat clouded pronouncement is in Poseidon's Daughter. This is the story of a Pole, transplanted to an Italian seacoast town variously reported to have been named after the sea god and to have been settled by command of the Virgin, who supports himself and his insane wife by spearing fish. While diving he turns up a corpse which becomes, as the story goes on, his

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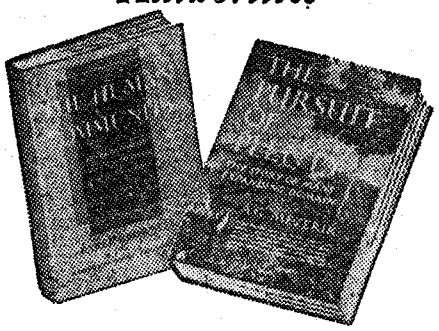

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wife, whom unconsciously he wishes dead, an emanation of the sea and all that it can symbolize, and the crucified Christ. The madwoman is his human wife and also "Poseidon's daughter, the figure of classic immolation . . . and inextricably too the coast's Madonna." It is not a satisfactory story, for the symbols mean too much and so do the sea and the town, and the human beings who must articulate the whole are shadowy, but it is a guide to what Sansom is about. He is trying to shift the emphasis of his writing from character and event to place. The question, which "South" does not answer conclusively, is whether first-rate novels or stories can be written for very long or even at all on these terms and whether the result of such a shift is not likely to be mere novelty. (As of this reading I find "South" very impressive indeed.) At the same time, as his magnificent control of the English sentence and his unflagging examination of the moral and aesthetic meaning of his subject matter demonstrate, Sansom stems from the great nineteenth-century tradition of English fiction. ERNEST JONES

Before Lenin and After

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. By E. H. Carr. The Macmillan Company. $2.

THIS volume by the eminent British political theorist Professor E. H. Carr consists of reviews which originally appeared as front-page articles in the London *Times Literary Supplement.* In spite of its journalistic origin, the book is closely knit in content and style and possesses high literary value.

> Lenin . . . knew that even discontent with existing conditions, indispensable though that was as a starting point, was not enough to sustain a revolutionary ardor. The vision of a new world . . . was necessary to fire the revolutionary imagination. Lenin inherited the splendid vision from a long line of nineteenth-century socialists.

Professor Carr sketches the history of that vision in a series of pithy profiles of its expounders, written with great knowledge and exquisite taste. He also attempts to confront that vision with the reality of the Russian revolution.

The author's approach to his subject is strictly historical, but it is not unrelated to current controversy. It is the merit of this book that while it treats the Russian revolution with cool detachment, it makes the reader aware of the immensely rich antecedents of Bolshevism in European and Russian philosophy and politics. No matter what are the vices of the Stalinist regime, one cannot seriously deny that originally Bolshevism appeared as the embodiment of the noblest dreams and the most advanced ideas cherished by generations of Europeans. In this lies the difference between it and Nazism, born and nurtured in Europe's spiritual gutters, a difference which is so often overlooked in the heat of the cold war. Years ago students learned about the origins of contemporary communism and socialism from the works of Kautsky, Plekhanov, Mehring, and others. These are not easily accessible now. Professor Carr's book may be warmly recommended as a useful, and highly readable, introduction to this subject.

The author is not content with popularization—the original part of his work is that in which he relates ideas of nineteenth-century thinkers and socialists to our own political experience. The book begins with an excellent essay on Saint-Simon, "the precursor of socialism, the precursor of the technocrats, the precursor of totalitarianism." Mr. Carr quotes illuminating passages from Saint-Simon, which may be regarded as a bold anticipation of the *Gosplan*, the Russian State Planning Commission which has been responsible for the five-year plans. Saint-Simon also foreshadowed, in Mr. Carr's words, "the coming re-subordination of the individual to society," which is surely not the same as the subordination of both the individual *and* society to totalitarian government.

In an essay written on the Centenary of the "Communist Manifesto," the author tries to define just how much of the prognosis and promise of the "Manifesto" has found fulfilment after a century. He holds that Marx and Engels underrated the political importance of the peasants, of Eastern and Central European nationalism, and of the colonial countries. Such retrospective criticism should not, of course, obscure the fact that Marx and Engels were primarily concerned with Western Europe, as they themselves repeatedly stated; and that the "Communist Manifesto" pre-

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ceded the growth of Eastern European "agrarian nationalism" by nearly half a century. Professor Carr discusses Lenin's adaptation of Marx's ideas, expressed in 1847, to Russian conditions and concludes that "the Russian revolution can claim to be a legitimate child of the 'Communist Manifesto' " and that "until the fate [of bourgeois society] is settled, until some new synthesis has been achieved, the 'Communist Manifesto' will not have said its last word."

Among the Russian forbears of the revolution is Alexander Herzen, the "first Narodnik," "a revolutionary only in ideas not in action." In a vivid sketch Mr. Carr describes the hopes which Herzen at first placed in Western European liberalism and his disillusionment resulting from close observation of bourgeois Europe. Frustrated by the West, Herzen turned in his thoughts back to Russia and its progressive potentialities. (There is a topical moral in this story: the attractiveness of bourgeois liberalism to the peoples of the East is too often taken for granted in the West. Those familiar with the moods among recent Russian political refugees, anti-Stalinists or anti-Communists, know how often close contact with the West has bred in them a deep sense of frustration very much akin to Herzen's.) "The last word of civilization," Herzen wrote to Mazzini, "is revolution." Plekhanov translated this maxim from Narodnik (Populist) into Marxist terms, while Lenin translated it from words into deeds.

In the course of his survey of the main ideological road leading from the French to the Russian revolution, Professor Carr also explores some of its sidetracks and crossroads. He discusses Proudhon, the expounder of anarchism and protagonist of "a world of independent, self-assertive individuals, each seeking and striving in perfect liberty to realize his own conception of justice"; Lassalle, the founder of the first social-democratic party, Marx's semi-follower and semi-rival, and Bismarck's partner in a Prussian version of a New Deal; and Georges Sorel, the philosopher of French syndicalism. Professor Carr sees Lassalle's "main historical achievement" in "the creation of national, as opposed to international socialism." "In 1914 it was national and not international socialism which emerged triumphant in every European country except Russia," says Mr. Carr; but he would hardly deny that this was a Pyrrhic triumph, from which European socialism, with its backbone broken, has not recovered till this day. The same combination of socialist and nationalist ideas appears also in Sorel and, many removes further, in—Stalin. What Proudhon, Lassalle, and Sorel had in common with each other and up to a point with Bolshevism was hostility toward bourgeois liberalism. This, however, was a negative link. In their positive ideas they were poles apart, and there was enough ideological confusion in both Proudhon and Sorel for both to be regarded, but only with partial justification, as precursors of fascism.

Professor Carr's appraisal of Lenin is indicated in the title of his essay: Lenin: The Master Builder. His Lenin shows, however, little likeness to the holy mummy of the Stalinist cult. Mr. Carr places almost as much emphasis on Lenin's farsightedness and revolutionary determination as on the element of trial and error in his work. Lenin was the real inspirer and founder of the Soviet state. But, so Mr. Carr argues, he became this in part because he discarded such "utopian elements in Marxism" as

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its theory of the state. Here the author probably begs a few questions which cannot be properly thrashed out in a brief essay.

Only many years after Lenin's death did "a degree of state worship which would have seemed unthinkable to the men who made the revolution" become established in Russia. Stalin, of course, epitomizes that state worship, and to him Professor Carr devotes two essays, one a review of Stalin's own works, and the other a very generous appreciation of this reviewer's book on Stalin. Mr. Carr draws a judicious balance between those features of Stalinism which are peculiar to it and those which are derived or inherited from Leninism. "The criticisms—so he sums up—which will have to be taken into account in the ultimate assessment of Stalin's record relate not so much to the ends which he pursued and achieved as to the means by which he pursued and achieved them." Yet the means employed by any party or movement, allegedly toward the attainment of its original end, often change the direction of that movement and ultimately also its end. The distinction, which Professor Carr discusses, between Lenin's "revolution from below" and Stalin's "revolution from above" illustrates this:

> Mr. Deutscher sums up the difference between the Leninist and Stalinist revolutions by calling the first a revolution "from below" and the second a revolution "from above." This distinction must not be pressed too far. Lenin specifically rejected the idea that revolutions are made by the spontaneous enthusiasm of the masses; he believed in, and imposed, strict revolutionary discipline. Stalin . . . could not have executed his colossal task unless he had been able to rely on a broad base of popular support.

The truth is that Lenin considered both "strict revolutionary discipline" and the "enthusiasm of the masses," or, more exactly, the support of a majority of the people, essential for his revolution. The same cannot be said about Stalin—his "revolutions from above" have only too often conspicuously lacked the "broad base of popular support." Here the means employed have definitely affected the end, and distorted it.

These are, of course, highly controversial issues; and we ought to be grateful to Mr. Carr for his contribution to their discussion. ISAAC DEUTSCHER

Essayist as Story-Teller

CHARACTER AND SITUATION. By Christopher Sykes. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

IN AN impudent but amusing introduction written especially for America, Evelyn Waugh tells us that Mr. Sykes was born in 1907 and that that was about the last year in which a genuine 100 per cent Englishman could be born. No one who read "Four Studies in Loyalty" could have failed to recognize its author as a representative of the best type of university man, and many of the same qualities are evident in the present volume of short stories. It is, nevertheless, something of a disappointment.

In the previous book Mr. Sykes seemed to have found his métier. Presumably the sketches were fiction, but their form was that of a biographical essay—suave, worldly but not cynical, and written in a style which was beautifully well-bred without being in the least conventional or weak. The new pieces are more frankly fiction, and though the manner seems to be very much the same there is a loss of individuality and distinction. "Four Studies in Loyalty" suggested comparison with Harold Nicolson at his best, and sometimes, just a little, with Lytton Strachey. "Character and Situation" suggests more strongly Somerset Maugham not quite at his best.

The resemblance goes beyond the obvious facts that the scene is usually in the East, that the narrative is first person, that the matter is an anecdote rather than a plot, and that the anecdote itself is likely to involve some comically profound depravity which the narrator contemplates with detached disapproval. Mr. Sykes is not really so worldly, so complacently weary, or so resignedly aging as Mr. Maugham, but he adopts rather too much the air of being so.

This is not to say that the six tales do not make entertaining reading—at least until the usually somewhat inadequate point is reached. Mr. Sykes is a natural-born story-teller, though not a born writer of short stories. He sketches scenes, character, and incident like an accomplished talker. He can strike off an amusing simile ("At the top of the vast ugly marble stairs Sir

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John and Lady Rowan . . . stood like a couple of rubicund pumps. I was among those who pumped them"); or he can turn a platitude into wit ("There was a smoothness about her skin which was extraordinary, the pores must have been minute, and if marble were not a weary word of praise, I would say that her skin was like marble"). But his manner relapses into that of the essayist, and that probably explains why the biographical essay—real or pseudo—fits him best. In his case as in that of many others it is a pity that more or less conventional fiction gives almost any writer a better chance of making a living.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Books in Brief

OUR JUNGLE ROAD TO TOKIO. By Robert L. Eichelberger in collaboration with Milton MacKaye. Viking. $4.50. The muddy, bloody path of the Eighth Army from the jungle swamps of Buna, up the coast of New Guinea, and through the Philippines to Japan is here described by their commander in a modest, lucid, and altogether engaging narrative. When General Eichelberger took over the fight for Buna our soldiers were sick, ragged, undernourished, and dispirited, and the jungle-trained Japs were dug into almost impregnable positions. General MacArthur's instructions had been, "Take Buna or don't come back alive." How Eichelberger took it is a classic example of what a general with good sense, courage, and drive can accomplish against odds. While Buna is the high spot, the book throughout gives an excellent account of campaigns that were overshadowed at the time and that today seem more remote than the battles of the Civil War.

PHILADELPHIA QUAKER: THE LETTERS OF HANNAH WHITALL SMITH. Edited by her son, Logan Pearsall Smith, with a Biographical Preface by Robert Gathorne-Hardy. Harcourt, Brace. $3. Hannah Smith, a Quaker preacher celebrated in the last century both here and in England, was the mother of Logan Pearsall Smith, the mother-in-law of Bernard Berenson and Bertrand Russell, author of "The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life," and a brisk and tireless letter writer. Sex, smoking, and drinking deeply distressed her, but she was too gaily sensible ever to be a prig. The letters cover her life from 1847 to 1911, and are worth reading as a picture not of the times but of herself.

THE WISDOM OF THE SANDS. By Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. Harcourt, Brace. $4. At his death in 1943 the author of "Wind, Sand and Stars" was at work on a summing-up of his philosophy. He made the perilous experi-

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ment of giving it an Oriental flavor by putting it in the form of homilies and parables delivered—to the extent of 350 pages—by a remarkably loquacious prince of the desert; and it may be said at once that the experiment failed. "Lies the lover who tells you that night and day he is haunted by visions of her he loves. A mere flea will divert his mind from her; for a flea bites. Or even mere boredom, and he yawns." The translation is by Stuart Gilbert.

HERE I STAND: A LIFE OF MARTIN LUTHER. By Roland Bainton. Abingdon-Cokesbury. $4.75. A sound but somewhat pedestrian biography by a professor at the Yale Divinity School. However, the fascinating contemporary woodcuts and engravings and the generous extracts from Luther's writings are well worth the price of the book.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

EARLY in the summer I received from the Juilliard School a reprint of an article by its president, William Schuman, from which I learned what the revolutionary change was that he had made in the curriculum of the school. It caused me to dig out an article I had laid aside many years ago, from which I would like to quote a few passages that bear on Mr. Schuman's article.

"At the conservatory I attended," my article began, "most of the students wanted only to learn to sing or to play an instrument; but the administration opposed this narrowness of interest, and attempted to give the students general knowledge and understanding of music by means of lectures on history and classes in theory. Properly, the history would have been abstracted from a series of works in which the lecturer would have traced—under the very ears of the students—the successive changes in musical language, style, and form. It would then have been identical with the work in the classes in theory, which, properly, would also have studied harmony and counterpoint in actual pieces of music, so that the majority of the students, who were not going to compose music, would at least have learned something about the music already composed, while the few with talent and inclination for composition would first have observed the materials and procedures of music in the pages of actual compositions, would thus have learned harmony in texture, and would have learned these in all the existing styles of western music.

"Instead, improperly, the lectures on history were chiefly biography and verbal description inadequately illustrated—one example to illustrate a lecture on sonata form; a composition or two added to a biography. And the work in theory—which seemed to be based on the assumption that the students were all going to compose, since they were all made to write—was also inadequate for this purpose. In the three years of the course they were taught only to work out certain conventional progressions of a few basic chords in a simplified four-part harmony, to translate these into a few sample figurations, and to arrange this material in a few sample formal patterns. I cannot recall that a single piece of music of any consequence was examined in its entirety. As a result, the students after the three years knew next to nothing about how to compose, and no more about the music already composed. And this was true in the additional sense that the harmony that was recognized as legitimate extended only as far as Brahms."

What I described and criticized in my article was the lectures of Krehbiel and Pratt, the teaching of theory in the classes of Goetschius, which I had attended at the Institute of Musical Art, now part of the Juilliard School. And one can imagine my astonishment when I found Mr. Schuman, in his article, pointing out that as "the theory of music is normally taught and absorbed . . . the completion of a series of abstract graded exercises has come to be substituted for the study of music itself," and contending that "most of our professional musicians who have been trained in 'systems' of harmony are rather ill-informed about the compositional techniques of the music they perform"; and my pleasure when I read that he had discontinued the old theory curriculum and replaced it with a program of study of the literature and materials of music, beginning with a two-year study of musical styles in which

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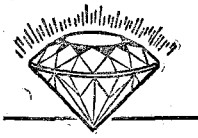
"the text used . . . would be the music itself," though "the instructor would be free, of course, to use any other material for which he found need" (the title of Mr. Schuman's article is "On Teaching the Literature and Materials of Music").

To convey what the study is like and what it achieves Mr. Schuman describes an examination given after the two years. In one part the students listened to a movement of a Bach concerto, a movement of a Piston quartet, an excerpt from a Taverner mass, and after the third hearing of each piece they answered questions about its period and composer, the nature of its melodic writing, its counterpoint, its compositional devices, its form, and so on. Also, a movement of a Mozart quartet and a Schubert song were played only once, and the students were asked to jot down everything they heard as the music unfolded.

In the other part they were given tasks of writing in the melodic, harmonic, and contrapuntal styles they had studied—for example, of completing, in their particular styles, two of four melodies by Lassus, Couperin, Weber, and Bartok; of adding a contrapuntal part above or below a melody of Hindemith. And it is here that I have my one reservation. There is no questioning the fact that the knowledge of a certain style that one gets by practice in writing it is greater than the knowledge one gets by only studying it and listening to it. But it is a greater knowledge which costs more time to acquire; and one may question whether a piano student needs the greater knowledge, or needs it enough to take the time it costs away from his piano practice. For actually the criticisms of the new program I have heard about are those by teachers of instruments at the Juilliard School who believe wholeheartedly that the students should learn the literature and materials of music but contend that in its present form the study makes demands on the students' time which they can satisfy only at the cost of their instrumental practice, so that they are learning to write in the various musical styles but not learning to play their instruments. Mr. Schuman might consider whether in the enthusiasm for an extremely valuable idea the idea hasn't been carried too far.



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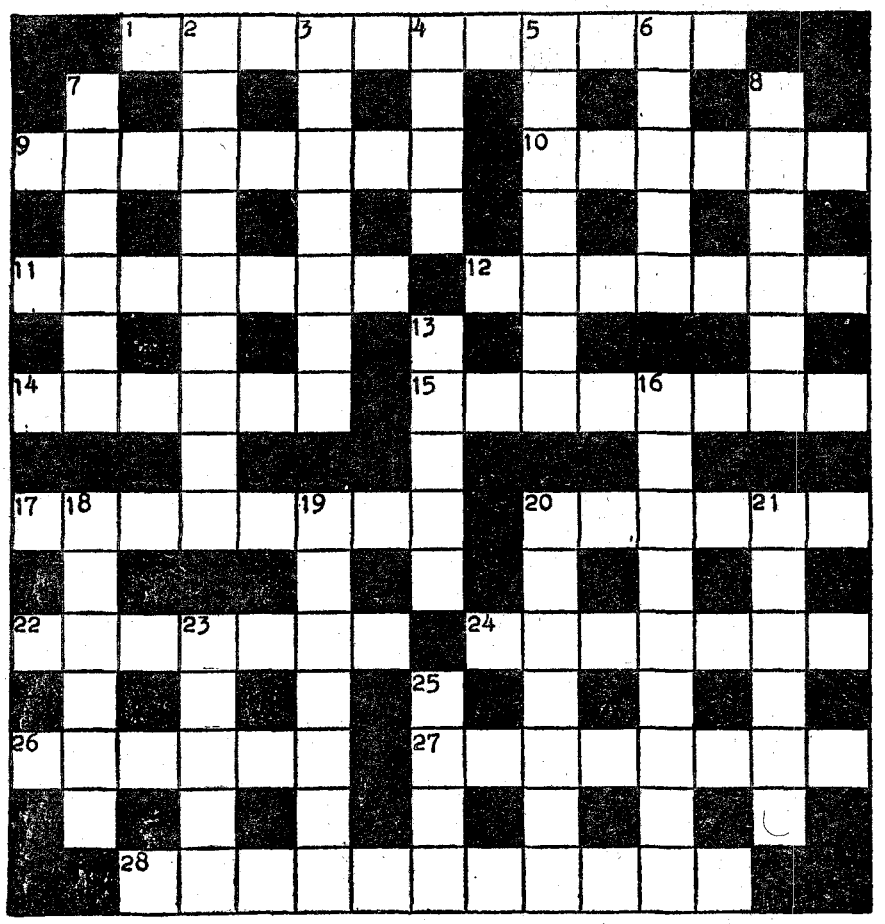
Crossword Puzzle No. 383

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 It shouldn't bother lovers of the wide open spaces.
9 Clerical course?
10 Once confused with the degree of 23.
11 Scantiness suggestive of the town of Pablo Casals
12 and 22. Flat, perhaps, but finishes round if this. (5, 2, 3, 4)
14 Overcoat?
15 This hat may be seen in Western Canada.
17 Be the hero of Britten's opera.
20 A friend to attempt very little.
22 See 12.
24 The sort of place to find a skunk.
26 Shakespeare's *Everyman* on the stage?
27 and 21 down. Did Paine state how old the excuse is? (3, 3, 2, 6)
28 Hay is rather prosaic. (3, 3, 5)

DOWN

2 Fellowship, exemplified by a locomotive or a sky-rocket? (4, 5)
3 Even a hen is one at night!
4 The French land yields return.
5 Where one might find sailors and knights. (2, 5)
6 Angry claim to self-importance?
7 The expression of a seraph?
8 Goody-goody!
13 A girl out-of-order?
16 Particles of gold embedded in college.
18 No longer healthy? (If you don't, you won't inhale much!)
19 Bad French song?
20 Is a ripe one an early one?
21 See 27.
23 A college man gets ahead of you in Louisiana, perhaps.
25 The boss seems to have turned to dust.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 382

ACROSS:—1 and 6 AROUND AND ABOUT; 9 ABELARD; 11 OUT; 12 MEEKLY; 13 LOVE-IN-A-MIST; 15, 20, 25, 24, 10 EAST SIDE, WEST SIDE, ALL AROUND THE TOWN; 16 POLYPS; 18 COPPER; 23 VERA; 28 TREASON; 29 OPINION; 20 and 4 ROUGH-AND-READY; 31 RETREATED.

DOWN:—1 ALAMO; 2 ORESTES; 3 NEAR MISSES; 5 DO TELL; 6 AVER; 7 OROLOGY; 8 TENNESSEE; 14 DOTTED LINE; 15 EXCAVATOR; 17 BEAUMONT; 19 PARVENU; 22 IRONER; 26 LINED; 27 ASCH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

Alaskan Land Rights

Dear Sirs: This reader must object to the statements of Mary Lee Council in her letter about Alaskan statehood and native land rights [*The Nation,* September 2]. The clause to prohibit establishment of more reservations until state government becomes functional is simply a land grab by the big commercial interests which dominate the territory at the expense of the natives.

The Organic Act of the Territory in 1884 was supposed to protect native lands. But the fishermen and lumbermen and miners took over nine-tenths of the native lands. That was why the Secretary of the Interior was authorized in 1936 to set aside reservations—to halt native land loss.

Mrs. Council implies that the Eskimos turned down the offered reservations because they considered them undemocratic. The plain fact is that two communities turned down the reservations because they felt the lands offered were less than what they actually owned. Shungnak-Kobuk refused by a vote of fifty-one to twenty-five a reservation which didn't include a valuable jade mine the village claims. At Point Barrow the reservation was refused because it would deprive the Eskimos there of necessary fishing and hunting grounds. The Tlinget Indian village of Hydaburg did accept a 101,000 acre reservation.

Rather than support the Alaskan statehood bill as drawn, true friends of the Alaskan natives should force the Secretary of the Interior to exercise his existing authority in the interests of the natives and set up adequate reserves to protect their lands.

HENRY F. DOLEYAT

Tuscon, Ariz., Septemper 24

Lesson of the C. C. F.

Dear Sirs: How can we, as individuals, contribute in our small way to those twin guarantors of peace—freedom and abundance? I found an answer while visiting Saskatchewan this summer. The accomplishments of the democratic, administratively decentralized socialist—Cooperative Commonwealth Federation—government are truly astounding. (For a picture of gains to education, health, farmer-labor security, development of natural resources, cooperatives, etc., please read, "The Third Force in Canada" by Dean E. McHenry, University of California Press; and "Facts about the C. C. F.," Service Publishing Company, Regina, Saskatchewan.)

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As an American I felt that the survival of this experiment is as vital to us as anything going on in our country. It is the social laboratory which may lead Canada to become an example for the United States. Through its very excellence the C. C. F. is in danger. The great wealth of Liberals and Catholics is being thrown against it. Achievement and post-war prosperity have made C. C. F. supporters relax their efforts. Top leaders have inevitably been too taken up with new and crucial administrative tasks to rebuild and expand the movement. Demonstration is the best form of education. At the same time, however, funds are desperately needed now, for a nucleus of full-time leadership to enter the next phase: *teaching members themselves to become leaders.* There must be a conscious, planned movement of neighbors *learning and planning how* to quicken the understanding of neighbors.

Tremendous impetus, moral and financial, can and should be given by Americans. Contributions sent to their Premier, the Honorable T. C. Douglas, at Regina, Saskatchewan, would help them realize how important they are to the world, as well as to themselves.

CHRISTINE WISE

Appleton, Wis., October 4

Service for C. O.'s

Dear Sirs: In the confusion of preparing a great nation to conduct a war, or even a police action, many lesser things get overlooked. One of these lesser things is the rights of conscientious objectors—those individuals who insist on their right to follow the dictates of their conscience.

Since too often these individuals find themselves in prison or the army through ignorance of their legal rights, the Metropolitan Board for Conscientious Objectors was organized to give them aid and counsel. The board has recently been reactivated, and information about its services can be obtained by writing to it at Room 1025, 5 Beekman Street, New York 7, N. Y.

DEWITTE WYCKOFF

New York, September 28

CONTRIBUTORS

EDMUND WILSON has published many books, of which the most recent is a play, "The Little Blue Light."

RICHARD HOFSTADTER is the author of "The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It."

ISAAC DEUTSCHER is the author of "Stalin. A Political Biography."

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HUGO VAN ARX,
Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of September, 1950.

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